DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 066 284 RC 006 411

AUTHOR Maldonado, Bonnie Buckley
TITLE The Impact of Skin Color By Sex on Self Concept of Low Sicioeconomic Level Mexican-American High School Students.
PUB DATE May 72
NOTE 126p.; Doctor's thesis submitted to New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS Analysis of Variance; *Doctoral Theses; *High School Students; Individual Characteristics; Literature Reviews; *Mexican Americans; *Self Concept; Sex (Characteristics); *Socioeconomic Status

ABSTRACT

The purposes of this dissertation were to determine (1) if self-concept is affected by the independent conditions of skin color and sex and (2) if self-concept is affected by the interactions resulting from the variables of skin color and sex. Two hypotheses were tested: (1) that there would be no significant main effects between the variables of sex and students' perceptions of skin color on the self-concept of Mexican Americans from a low socioeconomic level and (2) that there would be no significant interaction effects between sex and skin color on the self-concept. This study was conducted in 2 New Mexico public high schools during 1971-72 and consisted of 174 Mexican American 10th, 11th, and 12th grade students for whom 4 data indices were available (scores on the Tennessee Self Concept Scale, scores on Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Position, classification as to skin color, and sex). Interviews with the subjects by the investigator provided information pertaining to self-perception of skin color in addition to the investigator's rating. Color transparencies were made of the hand and arm of each subject for evaluation by 1 Anglo and 2 Mexican American judges. Analysis of variance was done to determine any significant main effects and interactions followed by an After F Test. Where significant F ratios were obtained, the Neuman Keul's Multiple Comparison Test was applied to determine significant differences. Pearson's Coefficient of Concordance was used to determine significant correlations between the students', judges', and investigator's ratings of skin color. Findings partially supported hypothesis 1 and found no significant interaction effects in support of hypothesis 2. (NQ)

ED 066284

THE IMPACT OF SKIN COLOR BY SEX ON SELF CONCEPT OF LOW SOCIOECONOMIC LEVEL MEXICAN-AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

BY

BONNIL BUCKLEY MALDONADO, A.A., B.S., M.A.

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A Dissertation submitted to the Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Major Subject: Counseling and Guidance

Related Area: Administration in Higher Education

New Mexico State University
Las Cruces, New Mexico
May, 1972

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express her gratitude for the encouragement, guidance and support extended to her by her advisor, Dr. William C. Cross, throughout the planning and writing of this study. She also wishes to express her appreciation to those faculty members who served on her advisory committee, and who offered their assistance and advice. Those members were Dr. Richard R. DeBlassie, Dr. John A. Duling, Dr. Ross E. Easterling, Dr. Harry G. Folster, and Dr. Alfred P. Wilson. The writer's gratitude is particularly extended to her fellow graduate student, Mr. Robert Orling, for his advice and assistance on the statistical design and analysis utilized in this study.

Special acknowledgment and thanks are extended to Dr. Thomas S. Turbyfill, Mrs. Janice Haymes, and Miss Manuela Baca of the Teacher Education Center at Silver City for their continuous aid and support throughout this study. The writer expresses her appreciation to Mr. Jack Hill, principal of Silver High School, Mr. Frank Lopez, principal of Cobre High School, and Mr. Harold Stambach, Counselor at Cobre High School for their cooperation in the data collection. Sincere appreciation is extended to Mrs. Ouida Hodges for her typing of the manuscript.

Finally, the writer wishes to express her love and gratitude to her family, particularly to her husband, Librado, and her daughter, Bridget, who made many sacrifices in order that this study might be realized.

VITA

Bonnie Buckley Maldonado was born June 14, 1931 in Choteau, Montana. She completed her elementary school years in a one room rural school in Toole, County, Montana. She graduated from Turner High School in 1949.

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ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF SKIN COLOR BY SEX
ON SELF CONCEPT OF LOW SOCIOECONOMIC LEVEL
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BY
BONNIE BUCKLEY MALDONADO, A.A., B.S., M.A.
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New Mexico State University
Las Cruces, New Mexico, 1972
Doctor William C. Cross, Chairman

Problem. The purposes were to determine (1) if the self-concept is affected by the independent conditions of skin color and sex, and (2) if the self-concept is affected by the interactions resulting from the variables of skin color and sex.

Design. This study was conducted in two New Mexico public high schools during the academic year 1971-1972. The total group sample was composed of 174 tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade students of Mexican-American descent for whom four data indices were available: (1) scores on the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS); (2) scores on Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Position (ISP); (3) classification as to skin color, and (4) sex.

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The subjects were assigned to categories on the basis of their sex and skin color.

The data in this investigation were treated by means of a two-way analysis of variance to determine whether the influence of the two independent variables, sex and skin color, on the fourteen measures of self-concept was significant. Where significant F ratios were obtained the Neuman Keul's Multiple Comparisons Test was subsequently applied to sex and skin color in order to determine significant differences. Pearson's Coefficient of Concordance was used to determine significant correlation coefficients for the students', investigator's, and the judges' ratings of skin color. Further analyses of variance were performed to determine any significance in the investigator's and judges' ratings of skin color by sex.

Results. The results of this study as they pertained to the two hypotheses were as follows: the results of the study partially supported hypothesis one. Four measures of self-concept were found to differ significantly as a result of the independent variables of sex by students' perceptions of skin color. The Self-Satisfaction Score, the Physical Self Score, the Variability Score and the Defensive Positive Score were affected by the independent condition of sex. The independent variable of skin color affected the Self-Criticism Score, the Total Conflict Score, and the Physical Self Score. There were no significant interaction effects in support of hypothesis two. Pearson's Coefficient of Concordance found very low coefficients of contingencies for all skin color ratings. Analysis of variance for sex by investigator resulted in the Total Conflict and the Family Self Scores being affected by skin color. The Family Self Score was affected by the independent condition of skin color according to

analysis of variance for sex by Judge One. A significant interaction was found on the Identity Score. Analysis of variance for Judge Two revealed a significant interaction on the Defensive Positive Score. Analysis of variance for Judge Three indicated a significant main effect on the Variability Score by sex. There were significant interactions on the Identity and Family Self Scores for Judge Three.

Conclusions. 1. Male and female low socioeconomic level Mexican-American subjects did not differ significantly with regard to their overall levels of self-concept. Sex and skin color slightly affected the subjects' perceptions of their personal worth, to what degree they liked themselves, and of their confidence in themselves. 2. The lower socioeconomic level students did not exhibit a sense of inferiority and worthlessness to the degree which is generally attributed to their social class.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The participants in the Copenhagen Conference on Race and Color in 1965 agreed that "the specter of color and race" (p. 2) haunts every nook and corner of the world (Franklin, 1968). It has been that specter which influenced this writer to investigate the issue of skin color as it relates to self-concept in the Mexican-American of the Southwest.

In the year 1501, the Law of the Indies allowed the Spanish colonists to marry the Indians of the New World. From then until now the lot of the mestizo has been a perplexing one. In the words of El Teatro Campesino poet, Luis Valdez:

> Most of us know that we are not European simply by looking in a mirror - the shape of the eyes, the curve of the nose, the color of the skin, the texture of the hair...these things...they fill our Spanish life with Indian contradictions (Steiner, 1970, p. 64).

The early prejudice of the Anglo toward the mestizo of the Southwest is well documented by such men as Farnham who wrote of the limited intelligence of the mestizo, and described him as little better than an animal (Farnham, 1844).

As the Anglos moved into the Southwest in increasing numbers, they absorbed the attitude of the Mexican upper class who viewed the person of "pure" Spanish blood to be aristocratic and Spanish while the mestizo of the lower classes was a Mexican (Moore, 1970).

The Mexican-Americans are a minority whose historical, cultural and linguistic characteristics set them apart from the Anglo community as surely as the Negro's skin sets him apart. Few people outside the Southwest realize the degree of discrimination this difference has brought about (Rodriguez, 1970).

Forbes (1970) contended that contemporary Anglo-Americans tend to be prejudiced against people who are brown-skinned, poor, live in sub-standard housing, can't speak unaccented English, and cannot cope with a highly competitive society.

Additionally, nothing marks an individual's group identity more visibly or permanently than the color of his skin. Color traditionally has served as the mark of the slave as opposed to the free man (Isaacs, 1968).

The process of learning "who one is" necessarily is accompanied by value judgments, for example "good and bad", or "worthy and unworthy". The minority group child who is visibly different soon learns the negative value connotation placed on dark skin within the American society.

The rationale for this study evolved from an apparent need to study the Mexican-American adolescent as he approached the end of his public school experience, his self-concept well-structured in the opinion of Anderson (1965). It was hoped that such a study would help to determine the effect of skin color on self-concept in a minority group which has known much discrimination due to color.

The Problem

Statement of the problem. The major purposes of this study are to determine: (1) if the self-concept is affected by the independent conditions of skin color and sex; and (2) if the self-concept is affected by the interactions resulting from the variables of skin color and sex.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested:

1. There will be no significant main effects between the variables of skin color and sex on the self-concept.

2. There will be no significant interaction effects between the variables of skin color and sex on the self-concept.

Assumptions. This study was based upon the following assumptions:

1. The Tennessee Self Concept Scale is a valid and reliable instrument for measurement of self-concept.

2. Hollingshead's (1965) Two Factor Index of Social Position is a valid and reliable instrument for determining socioeconomic position.

3. The skin color chart, incorporating three skin color bands, provided a valid means of comparing skin color of subjects.

4. The 35 millimeter color slides of the subjects adequately discriminated among skin gradations. The slides were used for the purpose of validating the skin color data.

Importance of the Study

Many authorities in the fields of education and psychology are probing the basic components of self-concept and how it relates to behavior, how it influences learning, and how it may be maintained or enhanced. There appears to be a mass of conflicting conclusions in relation to the self-concept of the Mexican-American student. While this may be due partially to the wide variety of techniques and designs which have been used in researching the self-concept (Wylie, 1961), it also indicated a need for further investigation of self-concept in the Mexican-American group.

Grebler, Moore & Guzman (1970) found evidence of increasing differentiation by social class though the majority of Mexican-Americans are poor. They also found tremendous diversity in the social position of the Mexican-American throughout the Southwest, making it extremely hazardous to generalize about Mexican-Americans as a group. Such diversity offered further significance for this study.

The remoteness of much of southern New Mexico from any large urban area, and particularly of the Grant County area in which the study was conducted, has contributed to one of the worst pockets of discrimination in the state of New Mexico according to J. Aragon (personal communication, February 7, 1969). Additionally, the Mexican-American population of southern New Mexico falls largely into the low socioeconomic group partially because they are relative newcomers from Mexico. The majority immigrated from Mexico between 1910 and 1920, and primarily are engaged as unskilled or semi-skilled workers in the mines located in the area (Gonzales, 1967).

In investigating the relationship between self-concept and the school experience it is difficult to ascertain what is cause and what is effect. In the opinion of Aragon (1969) the Mexican-American child comes to school with an infinitely better view of himself than he takes with him at the end of his school experience. Steiner (1970) agreed that the school is the culprit in taking away from the barrio child's view of himself. If this hypothesis is true, it offers another justification for researching the self-concept of the Mexican-American in the late adolescent period.

It is not uncommon to find individuals who regard themselves as unattractive or ugly because their families or other cultural agents endowed them with this notion, and no amount of evidence to the contrary can convince these individuals that they are quite acceptable in appearance (Anderson, 1965). It is obvious that there is little agreement as to whether or not the Mexican-American holds a positive or a negative view of the self (Zirkel, 1971). The significance of this study may be seen as it relates to skin color and its possible effect on self-concept.

Although several studies concerned with racial awareness in young children have been perused by this writer, most of these included only Negro and non-Spanish-surnamed white subjects. Since no studies investigating racial awareness in Mexican-American adolescents were found, it seemed worthwhile to find what happens to such awareness in relation to self-concept in this crucial period of development.

Since the material reviewed by this investigator appeared much more often in the literature in a subjective or qualitative report rather than as the result of an empirical study, the need for hard data in the area of skin color as it relates to self-concept seemed obvious.

When educational attainment is measured by median years of schooling completed, Mexican-Americans in 1960 not only fell far short of the performance of Anglos, but of nonwhites. Only Indians showed a lower level of attainment. A higher percentage of Negroes than of Mexican-Americans completed high school or went on to college. The findings of Grebler et al., (1970) stated:

> Taking the Anglo attainment for persons 14 years and older as a norm, the gap was 3.9 school years (or 32%) for people of Mexican-American descent, and 2.3 years (or 19%) for nonwhites as a whole (p. 161).

While it is relatively simple to document the schooling gap, it is far more difficult to explain it. Any attempt to relate the underattainment of Mexican-American students to measurable or even clearly identifiable variables inside or outside the school poses perplexing problems. It therefore seems essential to continue to search for valid answers to the questions which have arisen as to the reasons for the educational gap.

Hard data in the area of sex differences in the Mexican-American

group was found to be lacking which further relates to the significance of this study.

There also appeared to be a tremendous need for data with which to confront the prejudice which too often stands in the way of the Mexican-American student. The discrimination found in many Southwestern schools (Carter, 1970) is evidence enough of the need for proof of who the Mexican-American is, and why he is as he is.

Definition of Terms

Social class position. In this study, socioeconomic level was defined as the social position occupied by an individual within the status structure of our society. Social class positions were assigned on the basis of scores on Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position (1965) which utilized the two factors of occupation and education to determine social position.

Anglo. This term refers to the numerically dominant, Caucasian, English-speaking population of the United States, particularly of the Southwest, whose culture, despite minor regional variations, is that of the United States in general. This term, as used here, designates a residual category that includes anyone not identifiable as Mexican-American, Indian, or Negro in the Southwest.

Mexican-American. This term refers to a Caucasian whose cultural heritage is Mexican. For the purpose of this study, subjects were selected on the basis of Spanish surnames and/or school records.

Barrio. A concept of neighborhood with no specific boundaries; a place where the Mexican-American people live. In the Southwest such a neighborhood commonly is characterized by a low socioeconomic level of existence.

Chicano. A Mexican-American who has adopted the term as an indication of his pride in his Mexican identity.

La Raza. A term which refers to the people of this continent who emerged from the intermingling of Spanish and Indian peoples, cultures and traditions. Interpreted literally, La Raza means "the race".

Self-concept. The self-concept refers to the manner in which an individual perceives himself. Self-concept pertains to a person's total perception of those characteristics and relationships which comprise the "I" or the self, together with the values attached to such concepts as measured by the Tennessee Self Concept Scale.

Machismo. The quality of masculinity characterized by a high sense of defending one's honor' or "having guts" in the terminology of the Anglo.

Skin Color. Skin color refers to the student's concept as to whether his skin color is comparatively light, medium, or dark.

Organization of the Remainder of the Dissertation

The remainder of this dissertation is organized in the following manner. Chapter II includes a review of related literature concerning self-concept, skin color, low socioeconomic position, and sex-differences in the Mexican-American. The method of investigation is described in Chapter III. The results of the study are presented in Chapter IV. In Chapter V the study is summarized, conclusions are made, and recommendations are proposed.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of the literature was undertaken to investigate related studies regarding: (1) the self-concept of the Mexican-American; (2) self-perception of skin color of the Mexican-American; (3) the effect of low socioeconomic position on self-concept in the Mexican-American; (4) sex-differences in the Mexican-American.

Introduction

Early American psychologists, particularly William James, recognized the importance of the self-concept in behavior. With the advent of Gestalt psychology in the United States in the 1930's many years later, the self once again became of paramount importance in understanding behavior. Under the auspices of such leaders as Rogers, Snygg, Combs, and Maslow, Gestalt-field theory evolved into phenomenology in which the self is considered as the central variable in human behavior. Lecky (1951) saw all of an individual's behavior as organized into one system of which the core is the individual's evaluation of himself.

Sommers (1964) pointed out that a depreciated self-image can become the keystone of a person's defense system. "In the social jungle of human existence, there is no feeling of being alive without a sense of ego identity" (Erickson, 1968, p. 141).

Combs (1962) stated that the person who sees himself in a positive manner expects to be successful, behaves courageously, is less disturbed by criticism, is free to pay greater attention to events outside the self, behaves unselfishly, is not concerned about whether he is conforming, and is less defensive than the person with a negative self-concept.

As was discussed in Chapter I, many factors contribute to the development of the self-concept in the minority group member. The educational gap of the Mexican-American as compared to other ethnic groups in the Southwest is well known by educators. Carter (1970) maintained that self-derogation is seen by a majority of educators as being characteristic of a disproportionate number of Mexican-American students. Those possessing positive images of self and others tend to develop higher levels of school success (Anderson & Johnson, 1971; Kubiniec, 1971).

Erickson (1968) contended that there is ample evidence of inferiority feelings and of morbid self-hate in all minority groups. Hawk (1967) stated that education has failed when the self-images of pupils are defensive, inadequate, and characterized by a general feeling of incompetence in what really matters to them. Most educators would agree that the minority group member suffers an impaired self-concept due to cultural conflicts with the majority group. This conviction has led to a myriad of special programs to strengthen the poor self-concept of the culturally different child (Cooper, 1972).

Morgan (1969) reported that the ultimate objective of education should be to enable each student to build a positive image of himself as a person and a learner. Similarly, Gilman (1969) saw the development of a positive self-concept as a necessary prerequisite to academic achievement, and a major objective of any educational institution that is concerned with the development of productive citizens.

The purpose of the present review of literature was to present some of the more representative studies, as well as conclusions of authorities in the field whose work is not empirical in nature, pertaining to

self-concept, skin color, socioeconomic position, and sex in the Mexican-American population of the Southwest.

Self-Concept in the Mexican-American

Self-concept is known to be related directly to general personality and state of mental health (Fitts, 1965). The "self" never can be detached from the social environment. The worth attached to the self is affected greatly by the appraisals of the society in which an individual lives. If such attitudes mainly are derogatory and negative, the culturally different student will view himself in a negative manner (Duncan & Gazda, 1967; Proshansky & Newton, 1968).

Children see themselves as they believe they are seen according to Valdes (1969). He considered an ethnic caste system based on myth and unequal opportunity to be responsible for the development of defeat in the Mexican-American child, even to the extremes of retarded and ineffective behavior. Douglass (1960) reported that the minority group member has accepted as his own the values, norms and ideals of the majority group, and sees himself as a part of what has been rejected.

Katz (1969) found that ethnic group membership may either depress or enhance the self-concept of the disadvantaged child. Zirkel (1970) contended that self-concept is affected by minority group membership in direct proportion to the efforts that society and the schools have expended on desegregation and special programs for the disadvantaged. While the programs of the 1960's have appeared to be beneficial, Grebler et al., (1970) stated that it is too early to determine to what extent they have upgraded the Mexican-American student.

Ausubel & Ausubel (1958) and Pettigrew (1964) stated that the consequences of membership in a stigmatized minority group can be overcome in

part by a foundation of self-esteem established in the home.

Several investigators postulated a low self-concept for minority group members based on considerations of ethnic group membership as well as socioeconomic class (Ausebel et al., 1958; Clark, 1963; Kvaraceus, 1965; Pettigrew, 1964). The Educational Policies Commission (1962) wrote:

> The disadvantaged are the main victims of practices that frustrate the development of self respect...The resulting sense of inferiority and exclusion is most severe among Negroes, but it is seriously felt among Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, whom other whites commonly regard as nonwhite (p.33).

Wylie (1961) in her review of research on self-concept did not mention any studies which related self-concept research which focused on one's ethnic group, simply assuming a relationship between these attitudes and attitudes toward the self.

The cultural marginality of many Mexican-Americans contributes to existing problems of self-identity and increasing self-derogation (Carter, 1970). Sommers (1964) reported that all hyphenated Americans, including Mexican-Americans, suffer from an identity crisis. "They all desire to be something they are not. So depreciated are their self-images that they want only to be 'sociologically' white" (p. 333).

Incidents of discrimination, segregation, and social ostracism tend to reinforce and to reflect low self-concept (Valdes, 1969). Self-doubt, self-hate, impulsive and often superstitious behavior, a resignation to fate and to his lower status are common to those discriminated against. The target of discrimination begins to see himself and his culture as inferior, his family as less than adequate, and his race or ethnic group as something to be denied or disguised as soon as possible.

Such persons have come to value the approval of others over their own authenticity and integrity (Haddox, 1970).

In a survey of Los Angeles and San Antonio, Grebler et al., (1970) found that Mexican-Americans do accept many self-depreciatory stereotypes. Eighty percent felt that Mexican-Americans are more emotional than other Americans. More than two-thirds felt that Mexican-Americans are less progressive than Anglos, and that they tend to blame Anglos for what are really their own problems. The extent to which they blame discrimination appears to vary with the level of discrimination in the community.

While negative self-concept may be restricted to one area or skill, it may be debilitating also to the extent that nothing will convince the individual that he has a chance for success in any area. He manages to find proof of his assumptions of failure. He finds experiences to support his image of himself as a failure (LaBeene & Greene, 1969).

In a study by Dworkin (1970) a group of Mexican-American students in California were asked to write a list of words which they felt described accurately the personality, appearance, mannerisms, family and religious life, intelligence, educational experience, socioeconomic status, ambitions, and activities of the Anglo-American and the low socioeconomic Mexican-American. The self-images for the Mexican-American were "emotional, unscientific, authoritarian, materialistic, old-fashioned, poor and of a low social class, uneducated or poorly educated, short, fat, and dark, little care for education, mistrusted, proud, lazy, indifferent, and unambitious" (p. 311). Eleven of the twelve self-images were considered negative by the investigator. The native born Mexican-American accepted the self-images significantly more often than did the foreign born. In further comparisons made between the foreign

born and the native born group, but at a lower level of significance, the native born more frequently portrayed themselves as dumb or dull. The author offered as a possible reason for the poorer self-image of the native Mexican-American the fact that he used the middle-class Anglo of the United States as a reference group while the foreign born used his low socioeconomic peers still dwelling in Mexico. In 1960, 85% of all Mexican-Americans were native born (Moore, 1966).

Haddox (1970) pointed out that some Spanish-speaking citizens of the United States seem to have succumbed to a collective illusion of inferiority as a result of measuring themselves against the successful, "white" middle class standard.

In addition to the burden which minority group membership has imposed upon the Mexican-American, he also must contend with an educational system which has failed to meet his needs in the past. Upon entering school, he finds himself lost in a new world because he speaks the wrong language or is of the wrong color (Steiner, 1970).

Carter (1970) blamed the schools of the Southwest for much of the psychological damage which has been done to Mexican-American students. Though a certain amount of negativism toward school is common to all children, segregation and isolation of the Mexican-American have tended to aggravate the condition.

Throughout the Southwest, Mexican-Americans average 7.1 years of schooling as opposed to 12.1 for Anglos and 9.0 for nonwhites (Moore, 1966). Even more perplexing are the Grebler et al., (1970) findings which concluded that the ethnic differences in school performance between the Anglo and Mexican-American samples were not adequately explainable. The findings implied that the highest achievers in the Mexican-American

group are those students who have been most thoroughly socialized to the dominant American culture both at home and at school. While it was obvious that language skills of the Mexican-American group must be strengthened, the study found no answers to the questions of language introduction and transition. These findings are in agreement with those of a study by Banks & Grambs (1972) with a Negro sample which confirms that the chances for achievement are greatest when family and school and social class contexts are generally supportive of one another.

Negative attitudes toward Mexican-American students, including teacher expectancies, are particularly noticeable in segregated schools, or among students assigned to low tracks. The typically low intelligence test scores of the Mexican-American were cited as proof of their innate inferiority, and justification for their segregation.

The perpetuation of segregation in schools was investigated by Carter (1970), Grebler et al., (1970), and Palomares (1971). California is the only Southwestern state which has released data on ethnic concentrations in its schools. It is assumed that since California is considered the most "open" of the five Southwestern states in terms of prejudice, conditions in the others probably are worse. In Grebler's et al., (1970) survey, 57% of Spanish-surnamed children attended minority schools; 28% went to mixed schools, and 15% to majority schools. It was revealed that the proportion of elementary minority schools was larger than that of secondary schools.

Even more than for Negroes (Carter, 1970), pedagogical arguments are advanced for the intra-school segregation of Mexican-Americans. Foremost of these is the language barrier of the Mexican-American student. His need to be "Americanized" before mixing with Anglos, and his

"slowness" which interferes with the progress of Anglo students also are offered as justification for segregation.

While the presence of "Mexican" rooms in the Southwest, ostensibly for the teaching of English, has decreased (Palomares, 1971), many of the recent compensatory programs such as teaching English as a second language have had the undesirable consequence of isolating the Mexican-American child from his Anglo peers for a period as long as three years. Such an arrangement can prevent equal-status interaction with Anglos as well as to preserve a caste-like system. In agreement with Clark (1964) was Palomares (1971) who contended that to separate either grade school or high school students on the basis of ethnic or racial group, even though the equality of facilities remains constant, deprives the children of equal educational opportunities. He concluded that such separateness generates a feeling of inferiority as to the status within the community of the minority group child which may never be undone. Moore (1966) indicated that Mexican-American students in integrated high schools are significantly more ambitious than those found in segregated schools.

Mexican-American children learn one culture in the home, including a language, values, roles and expectations, and the school enforces another. In order to succeed at school then, the child is required to drop the bad culture of the home, and to manifest the approved cultural characteristics of the school. The ones who cannot do this often drop out. Others learn to despise their home culture. Others even less able to cope with the situation, become subject to personal disorganization according to Haddox (1970) who concluded that cultural differences in the Mexican-Americans have come to be interpreted as cultural deficiencies. A deprived child might well be defined as a child who is not an

Anglo middle class child.

In order to eliminate all traces of "Mexicaness" in its students, the schools of the Southwest demand that Mexican-American students adhere to super middle-class Anglo norms even more rigid than those set down for Anglo students (Carter, 1970). Personality studies conducted by Derbyshire (1968), Jessor, Graves, Hanson & Jessor (1968) and Ramirez (1969) were all in agreement that acculturation in the form of reducing the Chicano's identity with his ethnic group tended to result in negative consequences in the form of poor psychological adjustment.

The tracking system reinforces teacher stereotypes of Mexican-American students who fall further and further behind their Anglo peers. Coleman et al., (1966) found that while Mexican-American verbal ability was two years behind the average score of the white Northeastern sample, the gap had increased to three and one-half years by twelfth grade. Carter (1970) found socioeconomic class and track placement to be related since children from poor homes score below national norms of achievement tests.

To make the educational picture of the Mexican-American and the school even more depressing, Grebler et al., (1970) found Mexican-American students to be very aware of their over-representation in special education classes although they represented only 13% of the total school population. One-fifth of the Mexican-American students in Los Angeles public schools were in academic courses as contrasted to one-half of the Anglo group.

The study of Coleman et al., (1966) of a national sample of racial and ethnic groups placed Mexican-American pupils fourth among the six groups ranked on several achievement tests. Puerto Rican and Negro

students scored lower; Anglos, Orientals, and American Indians scored higher. Approximately 85% of the Mexican-American students in the sample scored below the Anglo mean. In a questionnaire item which was a part of the study in order to investigate the self-concept of ability of the students, the twelfth grade students were asked to respond to "how bright they think they are in comparison with other students of their grade level" (p. 23). Including only the statistics pertaining to the Anglo and Mexican-American groups, 8% of the Mexican-Americans and 38% of the Anglos saw themselves as among the brightest students; 22% of the Mexican-Americans and 38% of the Anglos perceived themselves as above average; 53% of the Mexican-American group saw themselves as average as compared with 45% of the Anglo group, and 10% of the Mexican-Americans as compared with 3% of the Anglos saw themselves as below average. The study also found that relative to the other ethnic and racial groups in the sample, Mexican-Americans had more self-depreciatory self-concepts than did either Negroes or Anglos.

The negative self-concept of the Mexican-American student was seen by most educators interviewed in the Carter (1970) study to be the principal reason for his lack of success in school. This explanation hardly is plausible in the light of the studies which have been done wherein the self-concepts of Mexican-American students are compared with those of samples from other ethnic groups.

While Evans (1969), Hishiki (1969) and Palomares & Cummins (1968a, 1968b) were in agreement with the findings of Coleman (1966) in that they discovered evidence of depressed self-concepts for Mexican-American children, McDaniel (1967) found the mean self-concept of Mexican-American children to be significantly lower than that of Anglo, but not of Negro

children. Gaston (1972), in a sample of Job Corps women students, ranging in age from 16 to 23, found that although her groups fell below national norms on the Tennessee Self Concept Scale, her Negro females did score significantly higher than the Mexican-Americans or Anglos.

DeBlassie and Healey's data (1970) from Anglo, Negro, and Mexican-American ninth grade pupils in southern New Mexico disclosed similar self-concepts across ethnic groups and socioeconomic levels. Najmi (1962) also found no significant differences in the self-concepts of Anglo children or white children of Spanish surname. Carter (1968) found the self-concepts of Anglo and Mexican-American children to be similar. He concluded in his findings that it is actually the negative attitude of the Anglo toward the Mexican-American which is projected onto the child as "his" negative self-concept.

In a study of perceptions of self and others, Cooper (1972) found no significant differences in self-perceptions among senior high school samples of Anglos, Indians, Negroes, and Mexican-Americans from rural high schools in New Mexico and Texas. All of his ethnic samples perceived themselves in a favorable light. Healey (1969) found the self-concept scores of Mexican-American junior high school students from southern New Mexico to be higher than those of his Negro and Anglo groups as measured by the Tennessee Self Concept Scale. One implication of his study was that minority group students might be unwilling to convey derogatory information about themselves to school personnel thereby deliberately presenting a favorable picture of themselves. Soares & Soares (1969) reported that disadvantaged students in grades four to eight indicated more positive self-concept scores than did their more advantaged peers.

Anderson & Safar (1967) found negative perceptions of Mexican-Americans among persons, both Anglo and Mexican-American, who could be categorized as significant others. They theorized that such negative attitudes could be internalized into the self-concepts of Mexican-American children.

Research suggests that teachers, next to parents, are the most significant others in the lives of children, and that classroom teachers play an important role in the formations of children's attitudes (Brookover & Erickson, 1969). A study by Davidson & Lang (1960) indicated that the assessment a child makes of himself is related to the assessment significant others make of him.

The educator who views negative self-concept as a characteristic of many Mexican-American children assumes the following: the child has grown up in a family which has known poverty, failure, rejection, and the reality of being inadequate in coping with the school situation. As a result he has learned to look upon himself with contempt (Johnson, 1966).

Carter (1970) warned that such erroneous Anglo interpretations may stem from the assumption of many middle-class people that anyone who is poor sees himself as a failure, and therefore also sees himself negatively. Landis & Hayman (1971) found that there are many educators who feel that in order to succeed the Mexican-American must shed his cultural differences, and become Anglicized in all ways. Cabrera (1967) feels it has long been the prerogative of the school to impress upon the Mexican-American student not only his difference, but also his inferiority. He is told that he is American, but he is made to feel that he is a poor Mexican.

In the words of a thirteen year old girl who was interviewed in the NEA Tucson Survey (1966):

> To begin with I am a Mexican. That sentence has a scent of bitterness as it is written. I feel that if it weren't for my nationality I would accomplish more. My being a Mexican has brought about my lack of initiative. No matter what I attempt to do, my dark skin always makes me feel that I will fail.
>
> Another thing that gripes me is that I am such a coward. I absolutely will not fight for something even if I know I'm right. I do not have the vocabulary that it would take to express myself strongly enough.
>
> Many people, including most of my teachers, have tried to tell me that I'm a leader. Well, I know better! Just because I may get better grades than most of my fellow Mexicans doesn't mean a thing. I could no more get an original idea in my head than be President of the United States. I don't know how to think for myself (p. 103).

In contrast to the traditional negative self-concept of the Mexican-American, a new cultural pride, and an increase in self-esteem is cited by Haddox (1970), Palomares (1970) and Steiner (1970). The roots of this new cultural pride appear in the concept of La Raza. Moore (1970) wrote that La Raza does not refer to race at all, but to a vague concept of ethnic identity, a compelling feeling of belonging. Beyond the family group and the community, La Raza is a broader symbol of cohesion and identification (Luebben, 1970). Moore (1966) posited that the concept of La Raza offers positive identity to the person of Mexican descent.

The Denver barrio leader, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, is quoted by Steiner (1970): "It's a long way back to yourself when the society has made you into someone else" (p. 379).

A Chicano leader in Arizona writes that there should no longer be a hangup with identity on the part of the Mexican-American. He feels that Mexican-Americans must keep their cultural uniqueness, and not

become Anglos. His impatience with the identity crisis of the Mexican-American is typical of the young Chicano (Steiner, 1970). Zirkel (1971) maintained that whether the self-concept of the minority group child is enhanced significantly depends largely upon the efforts made by society and the schools on desegregation and the disadvantaged. He cites the cultural pride movements of minority groups as a means for turning disadvantage into advantage, or negative self-concept into positive self-concept.

Edward Perez in an interview with Steiner (1970) described the young Chicano of today who is probably of high school or college age:

> These Mexican-American 'world leaders of tomorrow' are an exceptional breed. They can put on a charro...and be proud of it. They can even put on American clothes and feel at ease. They can eat enchiladas and hamburgers on the same plate...they have become anglicized, but only to the point that there is no excuse for them not being accepted. They take pride in being of Mexican ancestry and do not deny being what they are. These kids don't change their names just to become Spanish or European heirs...(p. 239).

Self-Perception of Skin Color in the Mexican-American

While the discrimination against Mexican-Americans never has been as strong as it has toward black Americans, it has been serious enough to hamper the lives of many Mexican-Americans (Moore, 1970).

In explaining the nature of the race-related cultural patterns to which Americans are exposed, Goodman (1964) maintained that $\frac{\text{white}}{\text{brown}}$ (white over brown) is an over simple description of race relations in the United States. The superposition of the whites, tacitly recognized by all and deeply resented by the subordinated browns, constitutes the biggest problem in American race relations today. This theory of race relations was based on the Negro and the white as were many of the references to racism reviewed by this investigator.

According to Lincoln (1968) in a discussion of social relations in the United States, color is often interpreted as a signal to discriminate. It becomes a cultural norm to the extent that an entire system of rewards, punishments, and taboos have evolved from it. The presence or absence of certain qualities associated with skin color determines whether a person belongs to an inferior or superior social group, and whether his life chances are good or bad in terms of his group membership. It would seem probable therefore that those Mexican-Americans with dark skin have less opportunity for acceptance or upward mobility than those who could "pass" for Anglo or Spanish.

Of particular interest to this study was an investigation by Anderson (1970) of relationships between blackness in Negro students and physical attractiveness and self-worth. It was concluded that the student's rating of his skin color was more significant than the rating of the investigator in that the investigator found a higher incidence of attractiveness in the darkest students than did the students. The students with poor self-concept tended to rate themselves as extremely black.

Grier and Cobbs (1968) found that the dehumanizing process of prejudice results in psychological self-hate which manifested itself in the premature aging of a group of young black women who appeared to be twenty to thirty years older than their actual ages. There was also a high incidence of obesity among them. The investigators attributed their physical deterioration to the impossibility of their ever becoming white, and therefore beautiful.

Scholars south of the border are cognizant of the scarcity of Spanish-European lineage and of the predominately native origin of the

Mexican-population according to Paz (1961) while most Mexicans admit to some Indian blood, it is not desirable to have too much if one is to be acceptable socially. There is evidence that Mexican self-esteem has been damaged frequently by anti-Indian prejudice. Many Mexicans appear to be ashamed of their skin color to the extent that even posters depicting the Aztec heritage portray Indians with near white skin color (Forbes, 1968).

The literature and history of the entrance of the early Anglo-American into the Southwest provides many illustrations of awareness of the Mexican's non-European ancestry as manifested by examples of prejudice against his skin color (Servin, 1970). McWilliams (1948) in his classic study of the social history of the Mexican-American people also made frequent reference to the racial heritage of the Mexican-American as well as to discrimination based upon the racial considerations which his color involves.

In spite of the visible difference in the person of American or Mexican-Indian origin and the European, many persist in the myth that Mexican-Americans are whites of Spanish surname, and that their problems are no different from those of the Irish-American or the Polish-American. Forbes (1968) cited the following reasons for this:

(1) the European conquest of Mexico implanted the notion of Caucasian superiority. Natives were generally treated as inferiors with persons of mixed ancestry taking pride only in their Spanish blood. A cult of whiteness resulted which caused the mestizo to attempt to lighten his skin by bleach or powder, and to be classified as "Spanish."

(2) Anglo-American color prejudice reinforced the above tendency causing lighter-skinned Mexican-Americans (in California and New Mexico especially) to deny any Indian ancestry.

(3) Mexican-Americans have also avoided being associated with Negroes by insisting on being considered white.

> (4) Similarly, being white protected the Mexican-American from being exposed to the discriminatory anti-Indian feeling of many Anglos (p. 56).

The fact remains that 90% of the genetic make-up of most Mexican-Americans is Indian or Native-American, and only 10% is Spanish-European (Driver, 1964).

The racial differences which set Mexican-Americans apart from Anglos can't be made to vanish by any process of Americanization according to Forbes (1968). Daniels & Kitano (1970) stated that the darker, more Indian appearing Mexican-American, along with dark members of other minority groups, is a constant reminder to himself of the stigma of race and inferiority. This is the reason for the myth of non-Indian superiority which continues to be perpetuated even though the person claiming to be "pure" Spanish may manifest obvious Indian physical characteristics (Gonzales, 1969; Madsen, 1964).

Some Mexican-Americans have fled the barrios to escape from the indignities of prejudice. When the memory of being of Mexican descent becomes too painful, they go incognito. Steiner (1970) contends that once Mexican-Americans leave the barrio they reject Spanish names and accents:

> Even their black hair acquires a protective coloring and grows lighter in the bright sunlamps of the suburbs. Many are darker than black tar, but they pretend to be Anglo. They powder the back of their necks in order to look lighter-skinned (p. 175).

Groups who appear to be different will be thought or made to feel different according to Allport (1958). He cites some of the differences used by the in-group to type the out-group as: "skin color, features, gestures, prevalent facial expression, speech, dress, mannerisms, religious practices, food habits, names, and place of residence" (pp. 130-131).

In the dawning race awareness of four year-olds, there appears to be a nebulous sense of inferiority associated with dark skin. A significant part of the explanation for this appears to lie in the similarity between dark pigmentation and dirt (Allport, 1958). One-third of Goodman's (1964) sample of 103 children, both Negro and white four year-olds associated dark skin with dirt.

Trager & Yarrow (1952) found that children in kindergarten through second grade are acutely aware of racial differences as well as of their social implications. Clark & Clark (1947), Goodman (1964) and Morland (1963) were in agreement that white children were able to make more correct racial self-identification than black children. They attributed this to the fact that black children find it emotionally difficult to accept their blackness, and therefore difficult to develop positive self-concepts.

Silberman (1964) contended that consciousness of color is not likely to disappear unless color itself disappears. Color and its implications play a role not only in the attitudes of Anglos toward Mexican-Americans, but within the Mexican-American group itself. In-group terms referring to skin color are many and complex. In identifying an individual as prieto (dark brown) it can mean a simple descriptive term with no hint of value overtones. In adding the diminutive suffix, prietito, a value judgment going beyond mere color identification is attached to the word. The diminutive can imply condescension, inferring that a person is dark and of limited mental ability, or it can suggest sympathy toward the dark-skinned person. Spoken in a different context, the word prieto may be intoned with a certain inflection which is an outright insult. There are other terms such as tisnado (black) which are used generally in a

pejorative sense. Even so tisnado can be used in another context with a different inflection, or by adding the diminutive suffix thereby rendering it a harmless term. The intricacies of Spanish terms referring to skin color are lost in English translation (Grebler, et al., 1970).

Color even appears as an issue in the images in which men have made their gods (Isaacs, 1968). Our Lady of Guadalupe, the Patroness of Mexico, has always been brown-skinned. Yet she may be seen with a white Infant Jesus in her arms. The Christ of La Raza also may appear in white or brown or black. It does not seem to matter to La Raza worshippers unless they happen to attend Anglo churches (Steiner, 1970).

A study conducted at the University of New Mexico investigated the participation of Mexican-American students in fraternities and sororities. All student body informants agreed that there was always greater discussion when a Spanish name was being considered, and that such individuals were admitted only if they were particularly outstanding in characteristics including "wealth, physical attractiveness, scholarship, and family background" (Gonzales, 1967, p. 111). All of the five Anglo informants from different Greek letter societies in the university felt it likely that local Mexican-Americans, as a class of people, could have Negro ancestors. Since New Mexico has had a small Negro population, Gonzales (1967) viewed this possibility as remote, and maintained that the dark-skin color of some Mexican-Americans almost always derived from Indian ancestry.

Since pre-Civil War days the light-skinned Negro has been favored over the dark-skinned one. He has been granted special priviledges, especially in the middle-class and upper-class society (Deutsch, Katz & Jensen, 1968). Negro parents were found to favor a light-skinned child

in studies by Coles (1967) and Grambs (1965). Kardiner & Ovesey (1964) noted that dark-skinned Negro men tended to try to marry wives of a lighter skin color. Paz (1961) reported that Mexicans also sought light-skinned wives, and favored light-skinned children over dark ones. In a study of 400 Negro adolescents in Oklahoma the subjects were asked to describe the person they would most like to marry. A majority of them chose people with skin color lighter than their own, and with other Caucasian traits (Hill, 1944).

Among nonwhite groups the degree of pigmentation has had a direct bearing on success. White supremacists usually have a well-developed sense of which races are superior and which are inferior with the rank order corresponding precisely to pigmentation. In today's world there seems more concern over skin color than any other hereditary trait. The ugliest and most powerful terms of prejudice appeared to be related to color and race according to Daniels & Kitano (1970). Common linguistic usage in English reveals the negative evaluation placed upon the color black as stated by Burroughs(1972):

> What shall I tell my children who are black of what it means to be a captive in this dark skin? What shall I tell my dear ones, fruit of my womb of how beautiful they are when everywhere they turn they are faced with abhorrence of everything that is black. The night is black and so is the bogeyman. Villains are black with black hearts. A black cow gives no milk. A black hen lays no eggs. Storm clouds, black; black is evil and evil is black and devil's food is black (p. 4).

Banks & Grambs et al., (1972) stated that there will be little progress in augmenting the black child's self-concept until the racial attitudes of white Americans can be changed, or until new significant others can be found since racism is the main cause of the black child's deflated self-concept.

Grebler et al., (1970) found that while discrimination in relation to housing was less intense for the Mexican-American than for the Negro, it did exist, and that skin color was a significant factor. He concluded that Mexican-Americans with dark skin are more apt to encounter refusal to sell or rent than those who are more fair-skinned.

Well-groomed and well-spoken Mexican-Americans, although dark-skinned, receive normal treatment by the majority group, even in Texas, according to recurring evidence (Grebler et al., 1970).

According to Palomares (1971) there is evidence to indicate a direct relationship between skin color and the distance people stand from one another. There also appears to be a relationship between skin color and the actual frequency of physical contact. "The lighter the individual, the closer we stand to him" (p. 139). Palomares reported that racism, or the use of color and other ethnic characteristics, as an aspect of differential treatment, exists in everyone. He offered as an example his own inadvertent favoring of light-skinned students over dark-skinned students in videotaped sessions.

While several studies concerned with racial awareness in young children have been done, most of these included only Negro and non-Spanish surnamed white subjects (Hraba & Grant, 1970; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Renninger & Williams, 1966; Williams & Edwards, 1969). While the majority of black children in the above studies identified with the white doll, in the Hraba (1970) study each group indicated a preference for dolls of their own color, indicating an enhanced self-image in the black child of today.

In a doll study of Durrett & Davy (1970) a Mexican-American group was included. Most of the Mexican-American preschool subjects

identified with a white Anglo doll rather than with a brown Negro doll. There was no Mexican-American doll. Eighty per cent of the Mexican-American group selected the Anglo doll for a playmate rather than the Negro doll.

Forbes (1968) reported that the sense of color inferiority found among Mexican-Americans is senseless, not only because it ruins lives of large numbers of dark-skinned persons, but because it prevents them from organizing with American-Indians and Negroes to better their lot. He stated that the process of giving a positive value to the brown-skinned Mexican descendant has taken hold only partially in the United States. He cautioned that those scholars who ignore the racial aspects of the Mexican-American's struggle for equality are not helping him toward a solution of his problem.

Perhaps of great pertinence to the Mexican-American cause is the fact that the young Chicanos are learning to take pride in their Indian characteristics along with other manifestations of their Mexican heritage (Haddox, 1970):

> Like the ugly duckling that later became a beautiful swan, so have our reddish-brown bodies been slowly changing into a beautiful coppertone shading that signals the start of a new era...(p. 29).

The Effect of Low Socioeconomic Position on the Mexican-American Self-Concept

Mexican-Americans are the second largest minority group in the nation with between 5,600,000 and 6,000,000 persons. About 87% of the total group are found in the five states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas. Between 1950 and 1960 the Spanish-surnamed population of the Southwest increased by 51% as against 37% for Anglos and 49% for nonwhites (Moore, 1970).

The Mexican-American group is characterized by its youthfulness. In 1960 the median age was 20 years as compared with 30 years for Anglos and 24 years for nonwhites. Spanish surnamed children represented almost 16% of all children in the Southwest.

Rather than a monolithic culture, there is great diversity in the cultural patterns of the Mexican-American. Living conditions for Mexican-Americans may range from caste-like rural villages in remote areas of the Southwest to almost totally "Mexican" cities such as Presidio and Laredo in Texas. Diverse segments of a community may live in close proximity to one another. For example, middle-class Mexican-American communities in Los Angeles County are located very near segregated barrios (Grebler et al., 1970). Mexican-Americans are about as urbanized as Anglos or nonwhites.

The Mexican-American may have arrived in the Southwest in the 16th century, or he may have taken out citizenship papers only yesterday.

The Mexican-American has known a long history of lower socio-economic status and conflicts between his cultural traits and customs and those of the Anglo (Justin, 1970). Since one's position on the American socioeconomic scale is determined largely by the educational background and occupation of one's parents, Mexican-Americans inevitably make a poor showing. Mexican-Americans in the Southwest are differentiated highly from the dominant society on nearly every yardstick of social and economic position. Associated with the high educational gap is an unfavorable occupational structure and a low average income. Housing conditions of the Mexican-American reflect poor earnings as well as the pressures resulting from large families (Grebler et al., 1970).

Daniels & Kitano (1970) wrote that Mexican-Americans constitute one

of the least assimilated ethnic divisions. The majority have found paths to middle class success blocked by prejudice and discrimination. In spite of this, there is a growing middle class who earn average incomes of over $5,700 per year (Moreno, 1967). Anglo-Americans according to Rose (1964) assume that assimilation of Mexican-Americans infers occupational achievement, wealth, and a good command of Anglo ways. A good indicator of assimilation is intermarriage according to Moore (1966) who reported that nearly 25% of the Mexican-American marrying population in Los Angeles County married Anglos with proportional increases in the third generation, in higher occupational categories, and among younger people.

In New Mexico it is possible for the Mexican-American to rise to the top of the social ladder through wealth or education. It is, however, much harder for him to achieve upward mobility than it would be for a light-skinned person with a non-Spanish surname (Gonzales, 1969).

In a study by Penalosa (1966) it was found that Mexican-Americans higher in the class structure had a greater awareness of their class position and of class divisions within their community. Respondents who were unable to state their own class membership had lower incomes, were older, and less educated.

Mexican-Americans appear to bear a disproportionate share of the burden of poverty in the Southwest. Using the statistical "poverty line" of a $3,000 income per family per year, the poverty group in the Mexican-American population included about 35% of all families. The relative frequency of poverty among Spanish-surname families was well over twice the Anglo rate according to the Grebler et al., (1970) study. Additionally, the majority of the poor among Mexican-Americans were city dwellers.

Spanish-surname median earnings in 1959 were 57 to 66% of Anglo earnings but above nonwhite income levels. In studying the median income per person in the Mexican-American family, Grebler et al., (1970) found that the Mexican-American had only 47 cents for every dollar of Anglo income, and was even worse off than nonwhites. Mexican-Americans held inferior jobs in practically all of the major occupations. In the non-manual occupations, assignment to an inferior job appeared to result from inability to meet schooling requirements. Mexican-American employment in manual jobs is uncorrelated with educational requirements for such employment, but is positively correlated with job earnings. Income differentials were found to widen as educational attainment increased (Miller, 1964).

Historical accidents and differing employment opportunities channeled Mexican-Americans into a wide variety of living patterns. Social class diversity continues to fractionalize them (Grebler et al., 1970).

Madsen (1964) reported that friendliness between the Anglo and Mexican-American groups in Texas was often a mask for distrust, suspicion, and fear. The mistrust appeared to be a matter of class rather than race. Aragon & Ulibarri (1971) contended that socioeconomic deprivation is a culture all its own with little to do with ethnicity.

For the low socioeconomic Mexican-American, life is largely confined to the barrio. Steiner offered the following description:

> Hemmed in from the outside by the heritage of anti-Mexican racism and built up from the inside by the culture of pride of La Raza, the barrios were a paradox of poverty and strength. The barrios have existed for generations as communities with their own ways of life, their own leaders, their own language and culture and histories (p. 149).

Life in any segregated neighborhood has the effect of placing limits upon social relations, communication, and contact with the majority group (Daniels & Kitano, 1970). The individual against whom prejudice is directed finds he has less job opportunity and earns less; he lives in less desirable areas. He shops at less attractive stores with higher prices, all of which are examples of a life style which results in damage to personality (Daniels & Kitano, 1970).

It is the low socioeconomic group which has earned the name of "problem minority" for the Mexican-American. Poverty, a high dependency rate, unemployment, poor housing, disease, inadequate public services, segregated schools, nonparticipation in political life, and a high rate of school delinquency point to a problem population (Moore, 1970). Additionally, lower-class areas generally produce a high proportion of delinquents, mentally ill persons and criminals. The number of people living on public welfare is large. "The waste of talent and manpower through unfilled lives is a cost that goes far beyond mere dollars and cents" (Daniels & Kitano, 1970).

The poor or disadvantaged Mexican-American is highly visible since he dresses less well than the middle-class individual; he speaks English inadequately, and often with an accent; he has few employable skills, or social graces which are acceptable to the dominant group. He is also often of a somewhat darker skin color than the successful Mexican-American (Grebler et al., 1970). D'Antonio & Samora (1962) concluded that "The factor of skin color is hard to assess, but...nevertheless it seems certain...that as one descends the occupational ladder, the skin color gets darker" (p. 19).

Many lower-class Mexican-American families show the outward signs of

the ghetto pathology found in other poverty groups. According to Lewis (1961) the culture of poverty is universal. Mexican-Americans are over-represented in juvenile delinquency, felony arrests, and narcotics arrests. Mexican-American gangs appear to be related to weakened family control. A large proportion of Mexican-American families are headed by women. Many of these women must work. Many are divorced or separated (Moore, 1966).

Grebler et al., (1970) and Moore (1966) found the Mexican-American family to be relatively unstable. They based their study on the number of households headed by a person other than the father as a good indicator of subgroup family stability. There were fewer such households among Mexican-Americans than among Anglos, and this disparity was found to exist throughout the Southwest in the 1960's regardless of the state of the size of the city or town.

The traditional folk culture image has been responsible for the complete disregard by social scientists of the bleak statistics on desertion and divorce in Mexican-American families (Burma, 1970). According to the folk culture view, the Mexican-American family is characterized by solidarity, support, warmth, and acceptance (Barnes, 1969; Madsen, 1964; Zintz, 1963).

The above studies are interesting particularly in light of Pettigrew's (1964) investigation in which he reported that the stress of an ethnic or socioeconomic caste system appeared to be offset by a stable family, and that the disadvantaged child appeared to perceive his worth as a unique human being apart from the inferior position assigned him by society.

Sommers (1964) reported that many minority group persons of low status deny their resemblance to their "inferior" families by adopting

values which are in direct opposition to those of the parent culture.

Farris and Brymer (1970) posited that a person learns to view himself in a social sense by adopting social labels. Using the Twenty Statements Test as a measure in investigating Mexican-American and Anglo students at elementary, junior high and senior high levels, the investigators found that Anglos assigned themselves to more social categories than did Mexican-Americans as they moved into the high school level. The Mexican-American adolescent perceived himself as articulating with fewer social groups, and acting in fewer social roles than did his Anglo peers. The differential appears to make it more difficult for the Mexican-American to participate in the more complex social world of the Anglo.

In looking at the folk culture concept on another plane than that of the nuclear family, Grebler et al., (1970), described the traditional Mexican-American as poor, proud, stable, and cohesive. He cherishes a value orientation which emphasizes interpersonal relations rather than ideas, abstractions, or material possessions. This outlook is held together by the concept of La Raza. The traditional Mexican-American also resents success, assimilation, and personal advancement. He is very protective of his "Spanish" culture. He is Catholic. His family is often extended. He manifests little interests in the achievements of the Anglo middle-class.

The folk culture concept is based on a declining, often rurally-oriented fraction of the entire Mexican-American population (Burma, 1970).

The incidence of functional illiteracy, 0 - 4 years of school, was seven times the Anglo and nearly twice the nonwhite rate for the Mexican-American. Grebler et al., (1970) found that this dilemma was partially

due to the fact that many schools in urban slums as well as rural areas were substandard.

The similarities in academic achievement and personality variables of lower socioeconomic group Mexican-American and Anglo junior college students suggested that socioeconomic status, rather than ethnicity, was the more significant determinant of personality traits related to academic success (Hall, 1972).

Carter (1970) noted that the academic success of the Mexican-American child depends on the degree to which his home has been oriented to Anglo middle-class culture patterns. Many educators in the more conservative areas of the Southwest contended that Mexican-American children are inferior, culturally if not racially. Nearly all educators saw the Mexican-American as an outsider in American society. Differences rather than likenesses between the Mexican-American and the Anglo were emphasized.

Clark (1965) found that children who are consistently rejected understandably begin to question and to doubt whether they, their family, and their group really deserve no more respect from the Anglo society than they receive.

Trager & Yarrow (1952) concluded that many of their black preschool children made role assessments which reflected the pervasive stereotypes of blacks and whites when they were instructed to assign roles to brown and white dolls. A majority of the subjects assigned white dolls to the "good house" and brown dolls to the "poor house". Many said that the brown dolls were maids, and the white dolls were their bosses.

Allport (1958) reported an experiment with middle grade children in which the subjects were asked to give the names of schoolmates who were

"clean," "dirty," "good-looking," and "not good-looking" amongst other terms. The children of higher social classes were given the high ratings on every desirable quality while the children from the lower social classes were given lower ratings. The researcher concluded that the youngsters were not able to perceive their classmates as individuals, but only as representatives of class.

Daniels & Kitano (1970) stress that:

> Members of groups discriminated against, no matter what their position on the social class ladder, will manifest similar psychological traits, particularly self-doubt, self-hate, and negative self-concept (p. 99).

Other authorities in the field of Mexican-American problems were in accord as to the fact that prejudice increases as socioeconomic level decreases (Ainsworth, 1969; Barnes, 1969; Burma, 1970; Moreno, 1967).

The Mexican-American of today is confronting the racial and cultural stereotypes held by Anglos. He is seeking to redefine these images. Examples are the protests of the Federal Committee on Mexican-American Affairs (1968) regarding stereotyped television commercials in which the Mexican-American is portrayed as lazy and shiftless.

A major change appears to be taking place in the life of the young Mexican-American. The days of the segregated swimming pools and schools are his only as he has heard them related by his parents. The negative stereotype of the older literature no longer fits him. The high school or college age Chicano is less ashamed of his ethnic ancestry than was his father (Grebler et al., 1970). This is due partly to the great growth of studies in Chicano history and culture, and to the development of a new body of literature dealing with the literary, the social and the political aspects of his people. It is due also to the fact that he

is probably second or third, or in many cases, fourth generation American, and his battle has been won partially for him by his elders. Credit must be given also to World War II Mexican-American soldiers who came home to demand the rights that they had learned were theirs as much as they were the Anglos'. Also recognition is due to such contemporary barrio leaders as "Corky" Gonzales and Cesar Chavez who have dared to make things better for the poor and the downtrodden Mexican-American. For the most part, however, the new image of the young Chicano is a product of his own awareness (Haddox, 1970).

Sex-Differences in the Mexican-American

Wylie (1963) found that much confusion existed in regard to the relationship between sex and self-concept.

The traditional roles of men and women, as well as of sons and daughters, were prescribed rigidly in the Mexican-American family. The mother was an earthly example of the Holy Mother. Her daughters were to be no less pure. The women of the family were subservient to the men. The masculinity of the father and son were demonstrated by both sexual and physical prowess, both of which were encompassed by the all important quality of machismo. The women were confined to the sheltered atmosphere of the family home, or the homes of close relatives with their social lives stemming from familial relationships. In the absence of the father, the eldest son was looked up to as the head of the family, and as such he had the right to demand unquestioning respect from the women in the family (Barnes, 1969; Moore, 1970; Rubel, 1970).

In the stable Mexican-American family both boys and girls will receive training in respectful conduct and obedience. The girl will be conditioned to be affectionate, modest, and self-sacrificing. The boy

will be encouraged to learn to defend himself at an early age from other males, and will do less than his sister insofar as the division of labor within the household is concerned. He will be expected to work outdoors if there is such work to be done. Heller (1966) points out the idleness of many adolescent Mexican-American boys in urban areas may be traced to the fact that household chores are considered beneath them, and there are not the outdoor jobs which would have kept them occupied in a rural area.

Rosenkrantz, Bee, Vogel, Boverman & Boverman (1968) found that despite historical changes in the legal status of women, the sex-role stereotypes continue to be defined clearly and held in agreement by both college men and women implying that women tend to hold negative values of their relative worth to men. The authors concluded that the stereotypes persevered due to a cultural lag.

Habban (1950) reported that social class and education appear to influence sex-role stereotypes. As a result, earlier and more clearcut awareness of sex-role patterns are found among lower-class children.

Grebler (1967) found that contrary to the conventional notions about the Mexican-American girl having a lesser opportunity to persevere in school that the average years of schooling of Spanish-surname females was about the same as for males. In support of this Carter (1970) contended that it is extremely doubtful that the folk culture concept of sex roles characterizes contemporary Mexican-Americans.

Deutsch's (1960) study of 400 children found a sex difference in white and Negro children. Negro boys appeared to be more handicapped than the girls. This finding was attributed to the fact that the Negro boys lacked a father figure with whom they could identify, and because

fewer rewarding occupational avenues were open to them than to Negro girls. Erickson's (1968) findings were in agreement with Deutsch (1960).

Rainwater (1970) suggested that the problem of male identity was due not so much to the lack of a male figure as to the type of male figure available for a model. The succession of boyfriends, boarders and so on who were found in the home which lacked a father often presented the wrong type of male image.

Deutsch (1960) found that the Negro girl excels in academic performance as compared with the Negro boy. She also surpasses him in personal and social adjustment. Her self-concept is more positive than that of her male counterpart.

Johnson (1966) studied the effects of a special program in black history on the racial attitudes and self-concepts of a group of black children. The course had a significant effect on the boys' attitudes while there was no significant effect on the attitudes and self-perceptions of the girls.

A last example of research relating self-concept to sex was a study done by Carter (1968). He pointed out that the apparent submissiveness of some Mexican-American girls often was interpreted by school personnel as reflections of the girls' negative self-concepts. Carter concluded that their passive behavior was likely a trait which was considered desirable in the home.

While a number of generalizations have been made which pertain to the sex variable in the Mexican-American group, many are old, and are based on the folk-culture concept (Moore, 1966).

Summary

In summarizing the review of the literature, certain conclusions can

be reached with regard to each of the sections presented previously. The fact cannot be ignored that recent research data tend to shed doubt upon the proposition that ethnic minority groups report negative self-concepts, and this conclusion appears to be relatively independent of the type of measure used. Greenberg (1970) did conclude that operational definitions may make it easier for respondents to express negative feelings. Zirkel (1971) noted that a sea of confusion surrounds the subject of self-concept in the minority group student in that underlying rationale, instrumentation, and research methodology vary according to the research. Additionally, past generalizations have been made on unique rural samples such as the Spanish-Americans of northern New Mexico, or they are outdated and relate to the Mexican-American of a previous generation. Other research has been confined to the poorest of the urban barrios. Although the findings of such studies may be quite valid in each of the above contexts, they are used too often for making broad generalizations about the contemporary Mexican-American (Grebler et al., 1970).

The differentiation in self-concept among children of presumably similar backgrounds is further evidence of the tenuousness of the concept of negative self-image in the disadvantaged child (Landis, Hayman & Hall, 1971).

Carter (1970) and Coles (1972) are in agreement that the level of self-esteem in the minority group child is remarkably high considering the handicaps which have been his in a society which has not accepted him readily.

In a society which places a high value on light skin there appears to be little doubt that the member of a minority group who was born with

dark skin is stigmatized doubly. There is no conflict among investigators as to the relationship between skin color and prejudice. There is no denying that the agony of being dark has resulted in the Mexican-American being forced to deny his heritage, and to become Anglicized as quickly as possible. It has been only recently that the young Chicano has had the courage to look upon his Indian features with pride, and to no longer permit his brown skin to be a source of shame.

The distinctive cultural traits of Mexican-Americans vary within neighborhoods, towns, cities, and states. They also vary with social class. Since the Mexican-American of today is largely urban and native born, continued intensive research needs to be directed toward the Mexican-American in the cities and towns of the Southwest as well as of the less well known rural areas.

In reviewing the literature dealing with sex-differences in Mexican-Americans, it appears that the differences today are much less than they were a generation ago. This varies with social class. There is definitely a lack of hard data on the sex differences of the contemporary Mexican-American.

In conclusion, Ortega y Gasset (1956) wrote that "while a tiger cannot stop being a tiger, or cannot be detigered, the human being runs the continuing risk of being dehumanized" (p. 31). Once humanization is destroyed, and a man is unable to stand on his own feet, and feel that he is worthy of being looked up to; when those around him view him without concern for his dignity or his integrity, he becomes a member of the living dead (Steiner, 1970). This sums up the sentiments of the review of literature which was undertaken by this writer.

One final point of importance to this study was Grebler's et al.,

(1970) findings which indicated that out-group relationships had increased proportionately with age, educational level, and generation. This points toward assimilation rather than to the cultural pluralism, or separatism which is advocated by some Mexican-American militants as a solution to the problem of the Mexican-American in the Anglo society.

CHAPTER III

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

This chapter describes the setting and subject sample used in this study, the instruments of measurements, the experimental procedures, and the statistical treatment of the data used in analyzing the results of the study.

Setting and Sample

This study was conducted in Grant County, a ranching and mining area, in the southern portion of the state of New Mexico. Silver City, the county seat, has a population of 9,000 while the county's population is about 36,000.

The subjects selected for this study were tenth, eleventh, and twelfth graders from the two major high schools of Grant County. Silver High School is a consolidated high school which serves the entire Silver City area. It had a total enrollment of 704 students in the academic year 1971-1972. Forty-six per cent of the students were Mexican-American, 53.7% were Anglo-American, and .03% were Negro. Cobre High School, located at Bayard, and serving much of the mining district, is a consolidated school with a total enrollment of 724 students, 66% of whom were Mexican-American, 33.9% Anglo-American, and .01% American Indian.

The subjects included in the study were 174 Mexican-American students, 82 boys and 92 girls, selected by the status of their parents according to Hollingshead's (1965) Two Factor Index of Social Position (see Appendix A). The percentage of subjects within the categories for each socioeconomic class was as follows: Social class IV, 39%, and Social Class V, 61%. In a further breakdown of the total sample, 12.69% were foremen; 12.1% were

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unemployed, disabled, or retired with the remainder falling into unskilled and semi-skilled jobs related to the mining industry.

The range of possible scores on the Hollingshead (1965) Two Factor Index of Social Position (ISP) as seen in Appendix A is from 11, representing the highest possible social position, to 77 the lowest social position. For this study, the continuum of scores was divided into a hierarchy of social class groups as shown in Appendix B (Hollingshead, 1965). Due to an inadequate representation of Social Classes I, II, and III, only Social Class Groups IV and V could be considered representative of the upper-lower and lower-lower class groups, and therefore were selected for this study.

The subjects in this investigation were categorized according to sex. Female subjects comprised 53% of the sample, and male subjects comprised 47% of the total. They were also categorized according to skin color.

Most of the students who comprise the current high school population of Grant County and are of Mexican-American descent are of the third generation (B. Thorne, personal communication, April 4, 1972).

Description of Evaluation Instruments

Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS). The TSCS is a standardized Likert-like instrument. The norms for this scale were developed on a national sample of 626 persons ranging in age from 12 to 68. The norms were based on approximately equal numbers of both sexes, Negro and white subjects, representatives of all social, economic, intellectual and educational levels from sixth grade through doctoral degree (Fitts, 1965).

In using the Clinical and Research form of the TSCS subjects were assessed on fourteen different components of the self-concept scales.

These components are described as follows:

1. Self-Criticism Score. This scale was composed of items which are mildly derogatory statements that most people admit as being true for them. Individuals who denied these types of statements usually were being defensive and made a deliberate effort to present a favorable picture of themselves. Low scores on this scale indicated defensiveness and suggested that the other self-concept scales (Numbers 2-11; 14 below) were probably artificially elevated by this defensiveness.

2. Total Conflict Score. This score was a measure of the conflict in a person's self-concept. High scores indicated confusion, contradiction, and general conflict in self-perception, while low scores meant better integration, lack of confusion, and lack of conflict in self-perception.

3. Total Positive Score. This score reflected the overall level of self-esteem. Individuals possessing high scores viewed themselves as persons of value and worth, tended to like themselves, and had confidence in themselves. People with low scores seemed to be doubtful about their own worth, saw themselves as undesirable, and had little faith or confidence in themselves. Also, individuals with low scores often felt anxious, depressed, and unhappy.

4. Identity. This score reflected how the individual felt about the self he perceived. In general, this score reflected his level of self-satisfaction or self-acceptance.

5. Self-Satisfaction. This score reflected how the individual felt about the self he perceived. In general, this score reflected the level of self-satisfaction or self-acceptance.

6. Behavior. This score measured the individual's perception of

his own behavior or the way he functioned.

7. Physical Self. This score was an indication of how the individual saw his body, his state of health, his physical appearance, and motor skills.

8. Moral Ethical Self. This score described the self from a moral-ethical frame of reference involving moral worth, relationship to God, and feelings of being a "good" or "bad" person.

9. Personal Self. This score reflected the individual's sense of personal worth, his evaluation of himself apart from his body or his relationship to others. It was a measure of his feelings of adequacy as a person.

10. Family Self. This score measured a person's feelings of adequacy, worth, and value as a family member. It referred to the individual's perception of self in reference to his family.

11. Social Self. This score reflected the person's sense of adequacy and worth in his social interaction with other people in general.

12. The Variability Score. This score provided a measure of the amount of variability, or inconsistency, from one area of self-perception to another. High variability indicated a lack of unity or integration in the person's self-concept.

13. The Distribution Score. This score was interpreted as a measure of certainty about the way one sees himself. For example, high scores indicated that the person was very definite and certain in regard to what he said about himself while low scores meant just the opposite.

14. The Defensive Positive Scale (DP). This was a more subtle measure of defensiveness than the Self-Criticism score. A high DP score indicated a positive self-description stemming from defensive distortion.

A significantly low DP score indicated that the person was lacking in the usual defenses for maintaining even minimal self-esteem.

Two Factor Index of Social Position (ISP). The social positions which the subjects occupied in the status structure of our society were determined by Hollingshead's ISP. The ISP was developed to meet the need for an objective, easily applicable procedure to estimate the positions which individuals occupy in society. It is premised upon three assumptions: (1) the existence of a status structure in the society, (2) determination of positions in this structure, mainly by a few commonly accepted symbolic characteristics, and (3) scaling and combining the characteristics symbolic of status by the use of statistical procedures so that a researcher can quickly, meaningfully, and reliably stratify the population under study (Kahl, 1967).

Occupation and education are the two factors utilized to determine social position. Two items are essential in order to determine the social position of an individual or of a household: (1) the precise occupational role of the head of the household and (2) the amount of formal schooling he has received. Each of these factors is then scaled and weighted to provide a single score. This score may be assigned to one of five social classes.

Skin Color Chart. A skin color chart which was composed of three bands of color ranging from light to dark skin tones was used for the purpose of determining skin color of the subjects. The chart was the work of a professional artist using acrylic paints on a dull surface.

Procedure

The data were collected as follows:

1. Permission slips were distributed to 100 students at Silver

High School, and to 400 at Cobre High School. Only those students whose parents signed and returned the slips were permitted to take part in the study.

2. The TSCS was administered to all subjects between November, 1971, and January, 1972. The questionnaire which was used to ascertain sex, ethnic group, and social class position was attached to the TSCS answer sheet. The questionnaire may be seen in Appendix C.

3. Ethnic identification was further validated through conferences with counselors and other staff members in the cooperating schools.

4. Each subject was interviewed by the investigator regarding self-perception of skin color. The investigator also recorded her impression of the subject's skin color at that time.

5. A 35 millimeter color transparency was made of the outer hand and arm of each subject. A detailed explanation of the conditions under which the transparencies were made may be seen in Appendix D.

6. The color transparencies were independently rated by three judges, the first judge being Anglo-American while the second and third judges were Mexican-Americans. The conditions for viewing the transparencies were kept constant.

Treatment of the Data

The first and second hypotheses were analyzed by a two-way analysis of variance (2 x 3) to determine significant main effects and interactions, according to a method suggested by Myers (1966, pp. 108-109). ANOVA was followed by Neuman Keul's After F Test (skin color by sex using TSCS raw scores for data).

Pearson's Coefficient of Contingency was used to determine if there was a significant correlation between the investigator's, the subjects',

and the judges' ratings of skin color as suggested in Kendall & Stewart (1962, pp. 556-558). Further statistical analysis of the data were performed as needed.

Summary

The sample involved in this study consisted of 174 Mexican-American tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade students. Hollingshead's (1965) Two Factor Index of Social Position was used to categorize the subjects according to social class position. Self-concept was measured by the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale. Interviews with the subjects by the investigator provided information pertaining to self-perception of skin color in addition to the investigator's rating. Color transparencies were made of the hand and arm of each subject for the purpose of validation of skin color by three judges. Analysis of variance was performed to determine any significant main effects and interactions followed by an After F Test. A non-parametric statistic was used to determine any significant correlations between the judges' and investigator's ratings of skin color.

Chapter IV will report the results of the analyses of these data. A summary, the conclusions, and recommendations for further research are presented in Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Both of the hypotheses were tested through the use of a two-way analysis of variance. Where significant F ratios were found, the Neuman Keul's Multiple Comparisons Test was used to further indicate all possible differences between means. The two-way analysis of variance computer program was checked with both a FORTRAN Language and an APL Language Test. In both cases, the program functioned correctly.

The subjects' scores on the fourteen TSCS measures of self-concept (Chapter III, pages 46-48) were tested by the above analysis of variance model. The means and standard deviations of the scores on the TSCS are reported in Tables 1 to 3. The results of the analysis of variance are reported in Tables 4 to 17.

Six of the fourteen measures of self-concept were found to be affected by one or both of the independent variables. The eight measures which were unaffected by the independent variables included the following scores: Total Positive, Identity, Behavior, Moral Ethical Self, Personal Self, Family Self, Social Self, and Distribution. No further mention will be made of these eight scores in the results section, with the exception of the Total Positive Score which is discussed further since it is considered to be the single most important score in that it reflects the individual's overall level of self-esteem.

Testing of the Hypotheses

Hypothesis one. The first hypothesis tested was that there would be no significant main effects between the variables of sex and students' perceptions of skin color on the self-concept of the lower socioeconomic

TABLE 1

Means and Standard Deviations
of TSCS Scores
With Distribution of Male Subjects by Skin Color

TSCS Scales	Boys					
	Skin Color 1		Skin Color 2		Skin Color 3	
	Mean N = 13	SD	Mean N = 60	SD	Mean N = 10	SD
Self-Criticism	33.15	5.54	33.43	4.84	34.80	5.40
Total Conflict	36.15	13.47	38.87	11.20	45.60	12.15
Total Positive	340.62	31.44	330.60	32.23	332.40	37.15
Identity	121.69	9.84	121.10	11.20	120.60	12.13
Self-Satisfaction	111.23	14.28	103.62	14.48	105.40	13.60
Behavior	107.69	12.86	105.88	12.25	106.40	14.52
Physical Self	74.31	7.52	70.68	7.87	67.20	8.40
Moral Self	65.15	7.79	63.27	8.41	65.70	7.50
Personal Self	67.46	6.99	66.97	8.35	67.20	6.87
Family Self	66.54	8.09	65.40	7.90	65.60	10.52
Social Self	67.15	7.74	64.28	6.97	66.70	10.21

TABLE 1 (Continued)

TSCS Scales	Boys					
	Skin Color 1		Skin Color 2		Skin Color 3	
	Mean N = 13	SD	Mean N = 60	SD	Mean N = 10	SD
Total Variability	46.92	10.34	48.75	12.94	46.10	7.01
Distribution Scores	114.38	25.53	112.47	26.00	118.00	26.61
Defensive Positive	63.31	10.77	59.45	12.96	63.50	13.37

TABLE 2

Means and Standard Deviations
of TSCS Scores
With Distribution of Female Subjects by Skin Color

	Girls					
TSCS Scales	Skin Color 1		Skin Color 2		Skin Color 3	
	Mean N = 22	SD	Mean N = 59	SD	Mean N = 10	SD
Self-Criticism	35.50	6.05	32.71	5.05	37.70	3.23
Total Conflict	35.14	10.90	36.49	9.91	40.20	10.79
Total Positive	330.86	37.53	335.27	33.63	318.40	31.61
Identity	123.55	10.76	123.10	10.69	119.60	10.30
Self-Satisfaction	98.36	14.91	103.66	14.63	95.40	18.00
Behavior	108.95	14.99	108.51	11.57	103.40	11.68
Physical Self	68.86	7.49	68.90	7.59	64.40	7.95
Moral Self	65.14	10.86	67.08	8.72	60.90	8.35
Personal Self	64.73	8.42	66.22	8.50	64.90	8.70
Family Self	63.23	10.12	66.97	8.74	61.90	11.30
Social Self	68.91	7.34	66.10	8.05	66.30	5.02

TABLE 2 (Continued)

TSCS Scales	Skin Color 1		Skin Color 2		Skin Color 3	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
	N = 22		N = 59		N = 10	
Total Variability	53.59	12.46	49.58	10.42	60.10	12.63
Distribution Score	109.36	26.76	110.63	25.56	116.50	15.16
Defensive-Positive	56.73	11.14	59.58	11.04	51.10	10.97

TABLE 3

Means and Standard Deviations
of TSCS Scores
With Distribution of All Subjects by Skin Color

TSCS Scales	Total Group					
	Skin Color 1		Skin Color 2		Skin Color 3	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
	N = 35		N = 119		N = 20	
Self-Criticism	34.63	5.98	38.08	4.96	36.25	4.68
Total Conflict	35.51	11.93	37.69	10.65	42.90	11.80
Total Positive	334.49	35.70	332.92	33.02	325.40	35.20
Identity	122.86	10.46	122.09	11.00	120.10	11.26
Self-Satisfaction	103.14	15.94	103.64	14.55	100.40	16.72
Behavior	108.49	14.25	107.18	11.99	104.90	13.26
Physical Self	70.89	7.95	69.80	7.78	65.80	8.30
Moral Self	65.14	9.83	65.16	8.77	63.30	8.29
Personal Self	65.74	8.03	66.60	8.43	66.05	7.92
Family Self	64.46	9.55	66.18	8.36	63.75	11.07
Social Self	68.26	7.54	65.18	7.58	66.50	8.05

TABLE 3 (Continued)

TSCS Scales	Total Group					
	Skin Color 1		Skin Color 2		Skin Color 3	
	Mean N = 35	SD	Mean N = 119	SD	Mean N = 20	SD
Total Variability	51.11	12.15	49.16	11.77	53.10	12.38
Distribution Score	111.23	26.42	111.55	25.80	117.25	21.67
Defensive-Positive	59.17	11.45	59.51	12.05	57.30	13.71

TABLE 4

Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Self-Criticism Score

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	57.48	1	57.48	2.14
B - Skin Color	172.62	2	86.31	3.22*
Sex X Skin Color	64.13	2	32.06	1.19
Error	4,509.75	168	26.84	

* $p < .05$

TABLE 5

Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Total Conflict Score

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	217.13	1	217.13	1.74
B - Skin Color	944.10	2	472.05	3.79*
Sex X Skin Color	84.86	2	42.43	0.34
Error	20,939.98	168	124.65	

* $p < .05$

TABLE 6

Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Total Positive Score

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	1,022.84	1	1,022.84	0.87
B - Skin Color	1,927.70	2	963.85	0.82
Sex X Skin Color	1,595.89	2	797.94	0.68
Error	**	168	1,170.94	

** Number too large for computer

TABLE 7

Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Identity

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	23.17	1	23.17	0.19
B - Skin Color	121.14	2	60.57	0.49
Sex X Skin Color	47.40	2	23.70	0.19
Error	20,608.13	168	122.67	

TABLE 8

Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Self-Satisfaction

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	1,463.69	1	1,463.69	6.50*
B - Skin Color	351.50	2	175.75	0.78
Sex X Skin Color	773.39	2	386.69	1.72
Error	37,837.81	168	225.23	

* $p < .05$

TABLE 9
Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Behavior

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	3.16	1	3.16	0.02
B - Skin Color	206.46	2	103.23	0.63
Sex X Skin Color	144.31	2	72.16	0.44
Error	27,469.81	168	163.51	

TABLE 10

Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Physical Self

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	283.36	1	283.36	4.57*
B - Skin Color	592.20	2	296.10	4.77*
Sex X Skin Color	59.12	2	29.56	0.48
Error	10,421.88	168	62.04	

* $p < .05$

TABLE 11

Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Moral-Ethical Self

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	2.96	1	2.96	0.04
B - Skin Color	78.02	2	39.01	0.49
Sex X Skin Color	313.91	2	156.96	1.97
Error	13,339.70	168	79.58	

TABLE 12

Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Personal Self

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	94.81	1	94.81	1.34
B - Skin Color	7.18	2	3.59	0.05
Sex X Skin Color	17.32	2	8.66	0.12
Error	11,860.24	168	70.60	

TABLE 13

Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Family Self

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	83.55	1	83.55	1.02
B - Skin Color	100.40	2	50.20	0.61
Sex X Skin Color	144.64	2	72.32	0.88
Error	13,734.79	168	81.75	

TABLE 14

Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Social Self

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	28.97	1	28.97	0.49
B - Skin Color	137.01	2	68.50	1.15
Sex X Skin Color	26.07	2	13.04	0.22
Error	9,999.40	168	59.52	

TABLE 15
Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Total Variability Score

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	1,298.17	1	1,298.17	9.34*
B - Skin Color	278.82	2	139.42	1.00
Sex X Skin Color	733.88	2	366.94	2.64
Error	23,342.74	168	138.94	

* $p < .05$

TABLE 16

Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Distribution Score

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	198.04	1	198.04	0.30
B - Skin Color	693.13	2	346.57	0.52
Sex X Skin Color	62.15	2	31.08	0.05
Error	**	168	671.00	

** Number too large for computer

TABLE 17

Analysis of Variance
For Sex X Subjects' Perception of Skin Color
TSCS
Defensive Positive Score

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-Ratio
A - Sex	999.21	1	999.21	6.85*
B - Skin Color	141.48	2	70.74	0.49
Sex X Skin Color	661.53	2	330.76	2.27
Error	24,497.87	168	145.82	

* $p < .05$

level Mexican-American subject. Analysis of variance for the effect of the sex variable on the self-concept on four scores failed to support the first hypothesis.

The Self-Satisfaction Score ($F = 6.50$; $df = 1/168$) was significant at the .05 level of confidence (Table 8). The Self-Satisfaction Score mean of 105.02 for boys was higher than that of 101.47 for the girls.

The Physical Self Score ($F = 4.57$; $df = 1/168$) at the .05 level of confidence (Table 10) was also significant. On the self-concept measure, the mean for the boys was 70.83 as compared to 68.40 for the girls.

The third measure of self-concept which was affected by the influence of the sex variable was the Variability Score ($F = 9.34$; $df = 1/168$) at the .05 level of confidence (Table 15). The girls scored higher than the boys with a Variability Score mean of 51.70 as compared to 48.14 for the boys.

The sex variable also affected the Defensive Positive Score ($F = 6.85$; $df = 1/168$) at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 17). The mean score of 60.54 for the boys was higher than that of 57.96 for the girls.

Analysis of variance for the effect of the skin color variable on self-concept failed to support hypothesis one on three scores. The Self-Criticism Score ($F = 3.22$; $df = 2/168$) was significant at the .05 level of confidence (Table 4). The mean for Group One with light skin color was 34.63; Group Two with medium skin color, a mean of 33.08, and Group Three with dark skin color, a mean of 36.25. The results of a Neuman Keul's Multiple Comparisons Test revealed that the actual mean differences were greater than the calculated mean differences on the Self-Criticism Score for one group ($3 > 2$) at the .05 level of confidence. Group Three with dark skin color perception scored significantly higher on the measure of

Self-Criticism than did Group Two with medium skin color perception.

The Total Conflict Score was also affected by the independent variable of skin color ($F = 3.79$; $df = 2/168$) at the .05 level of confidence (Table 5). The respective means for the light, medium, and dark skin color groups were 35.51, 37.69, and 42.90. A Neuman Keul's Multiple Comparisons Test showed the actual mean differences to be greater than the calculated mean differences on the Total Conflict Score for one group ($3 > 1$) at the .05 level of confidence. Group Three with dark skin color perception scored significantly higher than Group One with light skin color perception.

The skin color variable influenced the Physical Self Score ($F = 4.77$; $df = 2/168$) at the .05 level of confidence (Table 10). The respective means for the three skin color groups ranging from light to dark were 70.89, 69.80, and 65.80. A Neuman Keul's Multiple Comparisons Test indicated actual mean differences to be greater than the calculated mean differences on the Physical Self Score for one group ($3 > 2$) at the .05 level of confidence. Group Three with dark skin color perception scored significantly higher on the measure of Physical Self than did Group Two with medium skin color perception.

Hypothesis two. The second hypothesis tested was that there would be no significant interaction effects between the variables of sex and skin color on the self-concept. Analysis of variance for the interaction of sex and skin color variables supported this hypothesis, using sex by subjects' perception of skin color as the independent variables.

Additional Findings

In an effort to further verify the results of the data analysis, analysis of variance was employed using sex by investigator's rating of

skin color. F ratios for investigator and judges are reported in Tables 18 to 21.

Two-way analysis of variance for sex by investigator's perception of skin color supported hypothesis one with the exception of the effect of skin color on two scores.

The Total Conflict Score ($F = 5.01$; $df = 2/168$) was significant at the .05 level of confidence. Analysis of variance was followed by a Neuman Keul's Multiple Comparisons Test which showed the actual mean differences to be greater than the calculated mean differences for two groups ($3 > 2$ and $3 > 1$) at the .05 level of confidence. Group Three with dark skin color scored higher than did Group One or Group Two.

The Family-Self Score was also affected by the independent variable of skin color ($F = 3.44$; $df = 2/168$) at the .05 level of confidence. While this F ratio indicates that a significant difference between means exists, the Neuman Keul's Multiple Comparison Test approaches significance, but because of its conservativeness does not surpass the critical value. However, it does isolate the medium skin color group as having higher scores than Group Three with dark skin color.

Analysis of Variance for Judge One supported hypothesis one in that no significant main effects were found with the exception of the effect of skin color on one score, the Identity Score.

The Identity Score ($F = 4.96$; $df = 2/168$) was significant at the .05 level. Neuman Keul's Multiple Comparisons Test showed actual mean differences to be greater than the calculated mean differences ($2 > 3$) at the .05 level of significance. Group Two with medium skin color scored significantly higher on this measure than did Group Three.

TABLE 18

Skin Color F Ratios
For Sex
By Investigator's Perception
of Skin Color

TSCS Scales	F Ratios
Self-Criticism	0.66
Total Conflict	5.02*
Total Positive	0.79
Identity	1.35
Self-Satisfaction	0.80
Behavior	0.13
Physical Self	0.49
Moral Self	0.99
Personal Self	0.23
Family Self	3.44*
Social Self	0.13
Total Variability	0.32
Distribution Score	0.89
Defensive Positive	0.45

* $p < .05$

TABLE 19

Skin Color F Ratios
Perception of Skin Color
by Judge 1

TSCS Scales	F Ratios
Self-Criticism	0.37
Total Conflict	0.67
Total Positive	1.76
Identity	4.96*
Self-Satisfaction	0.64
Behavior	0.65
Physical Self	1.30
Moral Self	1.15
Personal Self	0.22
Family Self	3.35*
Social Self	0.92
Total Variability	0.40
Distribution Score	1.15
Defensive Positive	0.78

* $p < .05$

TABLE 20

Skin Color F Ratios
Perception of Skin Color
by Judge 2

TSCS Scales	F Ratios
Self-Criticism	0.05
Total Conflict	1.71
Total Positive	0.52
Identity	2.55
Self-Satisfaction	0.19
Behavior	0.06
Physical Self	0.14
Moral Self	0.55
Personal Self	0.16
Family Self	2.00
Social Self	0.11
Total Variability	0.51
Distribution Score	1.38
Defensive Positive	0.92

TABLE 21

Skin Color F Ratios
Perception of Skin Color
by Judge 3

TSCS Scales	F Ratios
Self-Criticism	0.14
Total Conflict	2.11
Total Positive	1.08
Identity	2.80
Self-Satisfaction	1.22
Behavior	0.09
Physical Self	0.48
Moral Self	0.81
Personal Self	0.50
Family Self	3.71*
Social Self	0.13
Total Variability	0.20
Distribution Score	1.43
Defensive Positive	0.75

* $p < .05$

Analysis of variance for Judge One supported hypothesis two with the exception of a significant intereaction on the Identity Score ($3.97 > 3.06$) at the .05 level of confidence. For males in Group Two, the Identity Score was significantly higher than for males of Groups One or Three.

Analysis of variance for Judge Two supported hypothesis one in that there were no significant main effects between the variables of sex and skin color on the TSCS scores. There was a significant interaction between the variables of sex and skin color on the Defensive Positive Score ($3.14 > 3.06$) at the .05 level of confidence. For males the Defensive Positive Score became higher as skin color was perceived as darker. For females the score was significantly lower as skin color was perceived as darker.

Analysis of variance for Judge Three supported hypothesis one with the exception of the effect of the sex variable on the Variability Score ($F = 4.32$; $df = 1/168$) at the .05 level of significance. Respective mean scores for boys and girls were 48.14 and 51.70.

Hypothesis two was supported for Judge Three, with the exception of two scores. There was a significant interaction between the variables of sex and skin color on the Identity Score ($4.20 > 3.06$) which was significant at the .05 level. For males the Identity Score became higher as perception of skin color became darker. For females the Identity Score was significantly lower as skin color ranged from light to dark. A second interaction between the sex and skin color variables affected the Family Self Score ($3.09 > 3.06$) at the .05 level. For males of Group Two the Family Self Score was significantly higher than for males of Groups One or Three. For females this score became significantly higher as skin

color was perceived as darker.

Pearson's Coefficient of Contingency (Stuart & Kendall, 1962) was used to determine if there was a significant correlation between the investigator's, the subjects', and the judges' ratings of skin color. A comparison of the different combinations of students', investigator's and judges' perceptions of skin color revealed low coefficients of contingencies in all comparisons. The coefficient of contingency of students' and investigator's ratings of skin color was 0.11; for students', investigator's and judges' ratings, 0.13; for students' and judges' ratings, 0.13 for investigator's and judges' ratings, 0.09, and for judges' ratings, 0.09.

Discussion of the Results

It was hypothesized that there would be no significant mean effects or interactions between the variables of skin color and sex on the self-concept. The Total Positive Score, considered to be the single most important score on the TSCS in that it reflects the overall level of self-esteem, was not affected by the variables of skin color and sex. The Total Positive Score for the sample involved in this study was 332.37 as compared to 345.57 for the norm group (Fitts, 1965).

Of the fourteen measures of self concept assessed in this study, using sex by students' perception of skin color, four scores were affected by the sex variable, the Self-Satisfaction Score, the Physical Self Score, the Variability Score, and the Defensive Positive Score. Three scores were affected by skin color, the Self-Criticism Score, the Total Conflict Score and the Physical Self Score.

Two of the significant scores, the Defensive Positive Score, and the Self-Criticism Score are measures of defensive behavior. These scores

were incorporated into the TSCS to enable the user to isolate those individuals who are being defensive as they describe themselves and those who make a deliberate effort to present a favorable picture of themselves. The significance of these scores is revealing in view of Healey's (1969) study in which he contended that the Total Positive Score in his research may have been artificially elevated for the Mexican-American group by the defensiveness indicated by low Self-Criticism and high Defensive Positive Scores. Healey's mean for the Defensive Positive Score was 56.21 while the mean for all subjects in the present study was 59.16. The mean for the norm group (Fitts, 1965) was 54.40. Healey's (1969) mean for all subjects on the Self-Criticism Score was 35.39; the mean for the norm group (Fitts, 1965) was 35.54, and the mean for the present study was 33.74.

The Total Conflict Score and the Variability Score, both significant scores, are measures of the amount of inconsistency, or lack of conflict in self-perception from one area of self-perception to another. Total Conflict Scores for both boys and girls became higher as skin color was perceived as darker indicating greater conflict and confusion in the self-concept of the individual with darker skin color. Girls scored significantly higher than boys on the Variability Score indicating a greater lack of unity in their self-concepts than in those of the boys.

The Self-Satisfaction Score reflects the individual's level of self-acceptance. The scores for the boys were higher than those for the girls with the exception of Group Two with medium skin color in which the scores of both boys and girls were almost identical. This finding indicates that boys with either light or dark skin color saw themselves more favorably than did the girls with light or dark skin color.

The final significant measure of self-concept, the Physical Self Score, was the only one to be affected by both the independent variable of sex and of skin color. Higher Physical Self Scores were found for males than for females. For both boys and girls, the lowest scores were found for Group Three with dark skin color. This finding may be interpreted in two ways. The Mexican-American males taking part in this study did not appear to be as self-conscious, nor as critical of their appearance as did their female counterparts. Secondly, on this particular score, both boys and girls who perceived their skin color as dark did not view their physical appearance as favorably as did their peers who perceived their skin color as light or medium.

The Self-Satisfaction Score and the Physical Self Score were the only significant scores from the total of eight Positive Scores which convey the following: 1. What I am; 2. How I feel about myself; and 3. What I do (Fitts, 1965). Both of these scores are directly related to the individuals' degree of acceptance of his appearance.

While there were no significant interactions between the variables of sex and skin color on the TSCS scores using sex and students' perception of skin color, or sex and investigator's perception of skin color, there were significant interactions on the Identity Score for Judge One, the Defensive Positive Score for Judge Two, and both the Identity and Family Self Scores for Judge Three. There were two significant main effects using sex by investigator's perception of skin color. One was the Total Conflict Score, and the other the Family Self Score, both of which were affected by the independent variable of skin color. The independent variable of skin color also affected the Family Self Score using sex by Judge One's perception of skin color. The Variability Score was

affected by the independent variable of sex by Judge Three's perception of skin color. The only score which appeared significant in the investigator's and judges' ratings, but not in the students' perception of skin color was the Family Self Score which measures an individual's feelings of adequacy and worth as a family member.

The comparison of the different combinations of the subjects', the investigator's, and the judges' ratings of skin color using Pearson's Coefficient of Contingency revealed very low coefficients of contingencies in all comparisons.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The summary and conclusions of this study are reported in this chapter, along with the implications this investigation has for educators who are working with Mexican-American students.

Summary

Problem. The purposes of this study were to determine (1) if the self-concept is affected by the independent conditions of skin color and sex, and (2) if the self-concept is affected by the interactions resulting from the variables of skin color and sex.

Design. This study was conducted in two New Mexico public high schools during the academic year 1971-72. The total group sample was composed of 174 tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade Mexican-American students for whom four data indices were available: (1) scores on the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS); (2) scores on Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Position (ISP); (3) classification as to skin color, and (4) sex. The ethnicity of the sample was established by Spanish surname, and through school records.

Data were available for 196 students. Twenty-two students were eliminated from the original sample because they comprised too small a middle-class group (social positions two and three on the ISP) to be statistically significant when compared to the 174 subjects in the low socioeconomic group. Additional Mexican-American middle class subjects were not available in the two high schools from whose population the sample was drawn.

The subjects were assigned to categories on the basis of their sex and skin color. Social class position was determined by the use of the ISP, Positions IV and V being selected for the study. Social Position IV contained 39% of the total sample, and Social Position V, 61%. The total sample was comprised of 53% male subjects, and 47% female subjects.

The statistical treatment described below was subsequently applied to the data. The scores which follow, taken from the TSCS, were separately subjected to a two-way (sex by skin color) analysis of variance model: 1. Self-Criticism Score; 2. Total Conflict; 3. Total Positive; 4. Identity; 5. Self-Satisfaction; 6. Behavior; 7. Physical Self; 8. Moral Ethical Self; 9. Personal Self; 10. Family Self; 11. Social Self; 12. Variability; 13. Distribution Score, and 14. Defensive Positive Score.

F Ratios computed on these scores were used to determine which specific means differed significantly from each other.

The two hypotheses which were tested were as follows:

1. There will be no significant main effects between the variables of skin color by sex on the self-concept.

2. There will be no significant interaction effects between the variables of skin color by sex on the self-concept.

Results. The results of this study as they pertained to the two hypotheses were as follows:

1. Hypothesis one. The results of the study partially supported this hypothesis. Four measures of self-concept were found to differ significantly as a result of the independent variable of sex. The Self-Satisfaction Score, the Physical Self Score, the Variability Score, and the Defensive Positive Score were affected by the independent condition of sex. The

independent variable of skin color affected the Self-Criticism Score, the Total Conflict Score and the Physical Self Score.

2. Hypothesis two. None of the measures of self-concept was found to differ significantly as a result of an interaction of sex and students' perception of skin color.

Additional findings. Analysis of variance using sex by investigator's perception of skin color indicated that the Total Conflict Score, and the Family Self Score were affected by the independent variable of skin color.

The analysis of variance for sex by Judge One's perception of skin color resulted in the Family Self Score being affected by the independent variable of skin color. There was also a significant interaction between sex and skin color on the Identity Score.

Analysis of variance for Judge Two revealed a significant interaction between the independent variables of sex and skin color on the Defensive Positive Score.

Analysis of variance for Judge Three indicated a significant main effect on the Variability Score by the independent condition of sex. There were significant interactions between sex and skin color on the Identity and the Family Self Scores. Pearson's Coefficient of Concordance found extremely low coefficients of contingencies for the students', investigator's, and judges' ratings of skin color.

Conclusions

The following conclusions were derived from the results for the sample investigated in this research. These conclusions are advanced with the caution that care should be taken in generalizing to Mexican-American students not similar to the particular sample utilized in this investigation.

The conclusions obtained from this study should be considered with the assumptions of the study kept in mind. These assumptions were as follows:

1. The Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS) is a valid and reliable instrument for measurement of self-concept.

2. Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Position (ISP) is a valid and reliable instrument for determining socioeconomic position.

3. The skin color chart provided a valid means of comparing skin color.

4. The 35 millimeter color slides of the subjects adequately discriminated among skin color gradations.

5. The judges were objective in their ratings of subjects' skin color.

With these assumptions considered, the following conclusions were made:

1. Male and female low socioeconomic level Mexican-American subjects did not differ significantly with regard to their overall level of self-concept. On six of the fourteen scores, the sex and skin color variables affected the subjects' perceptions of their personal worth, to what degree they liked themselves, and of their confidence in themselves.

2. While the overall Total Positive Score for the group was slightly lower than for the norm group, it was not significantly so; therefore, it may be assumed that the lower socioeconomic level students did not exhibit a sense of inferiority and worthlessness to the extent which is generally attributed to their socioeconomic level.

Implications for Educators

The results of this study demonstrate that the factors of skin color and sex in the low socioeconomic level Mexican-American sample did not significantly influence the students' overall levels of self-esteem. Even though the overall self-concept scores of the students were influenced by defensive responses, it may be concluded on the basis of this study that Mexican-American students of the low socioeconomic group have reasonably adequate self-concepts. Mexican-American students appear to be less willing to convey derogatory information about themselves than their overall measures of self-esteem might indicate. This finding should be of particular interest to educators who are looking upon the low self-concepts of Mexican-American students as the principle reason for their poor performance in Southwestern schools when compared to other ethnic groups (Carter, 1970). The average self-concepts of the students who comprised the sample in this study verify the findings of Cooper (1972) who reported that the self-concept of the Mexican-American student is not significantly different from that of the Indian, the Negro, or the Anglo student.

The results of this study indicate that any stigma connected with minority group membership, in a low socioeconomic class, is not reflected in the overall self-concepts of the subjects.

The self-concepts of the sample tested in this study offer some evidence of internalization of the negative attitudes of the majority group. This was indicated by the lower self-concepts of the darker students on the Physical Self Score which is a measure of how the individual perceives his physical appearance. It was also indicated by the lack of self-acceptance of the female subjects. Proshansky & Newton (1969), and Valdes (1969) both stated that minority group members see themselves as

they are seen by the majority group.

While cultural marginality and overt discrimination do not affect the current Mexican-American high school population to the extent that they affected their parent generation, there is some indication of poor self-images in the subjects participating in this study.

While the subjects did not manifest the high degree of self-hate which is often reported as a characteristic of the disadvantaged (Banks, 1972), there was evidence of some negative feelings of the students toward themselves.

The cultural pride and acceptance of the Mexican-American's Indian qualities, and an accompanying increase in self-esteem is advanced by Palomares (1970), Steiner (1970) and Haddox (1970). This growing pride in La Raza has been found mainly in persons of high school and college age. It may be partially attributed to the special compensatory programs of the 1960's, or it may be credited to the various Chicano youth movements (Zirkel, 1970; Grebler, et al., 1970). It may have a direct bearing on the results of the present study. The relative lightness or darkness of skin color in the Mexican-American student did influence the self-concepts of the Mexican-American subjects who participated in this study. It may be concluded that membership in a visibly different minority group has had its effect on high school age students residing in Southern New Mexico.

While the findings of this study indicate that there were few significant differences between the level of self esteem of the Mexican-American sample and of the norm group of the TSCS (Fitts, 1965), this does not mean that the Mexican-American student has ceased to have special problems of an educational nature. His educational gap as compared with those of other ethnic groups in the Southwestern states is proof of his

needs not having been met satisfactorily by the schools (Grebler et al., 1970).

It is hoped that this study will be of special interest to those educators who work with Mexican-American students, and who view their major educational obstacle as poor self-concept.

Recommendations for Future Research

The following recommendations for future research are suggested:

1. Studies should be conducted which could determine to what extent the findings of this study apply for different age levels including lower and upper elementary school children as well as college students. The strong peer relationships of the adolescent could have had some bearing on the results of this study.

2. The study should be replicated in other settings. Mexican-American students from an urban setting should be directly compared in another study. It might be hypothesized that individuals from small towns or a country setting possess a different self-evaluation than those individuals who reside in large urban areas.

3. The study should be conducted in an area in which a large enough middle class Mexican-American group exists that a socioeconomic variable may be included in the study.

4. The study should be replicated in schools where the student body population is comprised of a minority of Mexican-Americans rather than a majority.

5. The subjective and qualitative nature of much of the literature pertaining to skin color in the Mexican-American group points to a need for hard data in this area.

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APPENDIX A

I. The Scale Scores

To determine the social position of an individual or of a household, two items are essential; (1) the precise occupational role the head of the household performs in the economy; and (2) the amount of formal schooling he has received. Each of these factors is then scaled according to the following system of scores:

A. The Occupational Scale

1. Higher Executives, Proprietors of Large Concerns, and the Major Professionals

a) Higher Executives

Bank Presidents, Vice Presidents
Judges (Superior Courts)
Large Businesses, e.g., Directors, Presidents, Vice Presidents, Asst. Vice Presidents, Executive Secretary, Treasurer
Military, Commissioned Officers, Major and above
Officials of the Executive Branch of Government, Federal State, Local, e.g., Mayor, City Manager, City Plan Director, Internal Revenue Directors
Research Directors, Large Firms

b) Large Proprietors (Value over $100,000)

Brokers
Contractors
Dairy Owners
Lumber Dealers

c) Major Professionals

Accountants (C.P.A.)
Actuaries
Agronomists
Architects
Artists, Portrait
Astronomers
Auditors
Bacteriologists
Chemical Engineers
Chemists
Clergy (Professionally trained)
Dentists
Economists
Engineers (Coll. Grad.)
Foresters
Geologists
Lawyers
Metallurgists
Physicians
Physicists, Research
Psychologists, Practicing
Symphony Conductor
Teachers, University, College
Veterinarians (Veterinary Surgeons)

2. Business Managers, Proprietors of Medium Sized Businesses, and Lesser Professionals

a) Business Managers in Large Concerns

Advertising Directors
Branch Managers
District Managers
Brokerage Salesmen
Executive Assistants
Executive Managers
Govt. Officials minor, e.g., Internal Revenue Agents
Farm Managers
Office Managers
Personnel Managers
Police Chief, Sheriff
Postmaster
Production Manager
Sales Engineers
Sales Managers, National Concerns
Sales Managers (over $100,000)

b) Proprietors of Medium Sized Business (Value $35,000-$100,000)

Advertising Owners ($100,000)
Clothing Store Owners ($100,000)
Contractors ($100,000)
Express Company Owners ($100,000)
Fruits, Wholesale ($100,000)
Furniture Business ($100,000)
Jewelers ($100,000)
Labor Relations Consultants
Manufacturer's Representatives
Poultry Business ($100,000)
Purchasing Managers
Real Estate Brokers ($100,000)
Rug Business ($100,000)
Store Owners ($100,000)
Theater Owners ($100,000)

c) Lesser Professionals

Accountants (not C.P.A.)
Chiropodists
Chiropractors
Correction Officers
Director of Community House
Engineers (not Coll. Grad.)
Finance Writers
Health Educators
Librarians
Military, Commissioned Officers, Lts., Capt.
Musicians (Symphony Orchestra)
Nurses
Opticians
Pharmacists
Public Health Officers (M.P.H.)
Research Assistants, University (full time)
Social Workers
Teachers (elementary and high)

3. Administrative Personnel, Small Independent Business, and Minor Professionals

a) Administrative Personnel

Advertising Agents
Chief Clerks
Credit Managers
Insurance Agents
Managers, Department Stores
Passenger Agents—R.R.
Private Secretaries
Purchasing Agents
Sales Representative
Section Heads, Federal, State, and Local Govt. Offices
Section Heads, Large Businesses and Industries
Service Managers
Store Managers (chain)
Traffic Managers

b) Small Business Owners ($6,000-$35,000)

Art Gallery
Auto Accessories
Awnings
Bakery
Beauty Shop
Boatyard
Brokerage, Insurance
Car Dealers
Cattle Dealers
Cigarette Machines
Cleaning Shops
Clothing
Coal Business
Convalescent
Decorating
Dog Supplies
Dry Goods
Engraving Business
Feed
Finance Co., Local
5 & 10
Florist
Food Equipment
Food Products
Foundry
Funeral Directors
Furniture
Garage
Gas Station
Glassware
Grocery-General
Hotel Proprietors
Inst. of Music
Jewelry
Machinery Brokers
Manufacturing
Monuments
Package Store (Liquor)
Painting Contracting
Plumbing
Poultry Producers
Publicity & Public Relations
Real Estate
Records and Radios
Restaurant
Roofing Contractor
Shoe
Signs
Tavern Taxi Company
Tire Shop
Trucking
Trucks and Tractors
Upholstery
Wholesale Outlets
Window Shades

c) Semi-Professionals

Actors and Showmen
Army M/Sgt.; Navy C.P.O.
Artists, Commercial
Appraisers (Estimators)
Clergymen (not professionally trained)
Concern Managers
Deputy Sheriffs
Dispatchers, R. R. Train
Interior Decorators
Interpreters, Court
Laboratory Assistants
Landscape Planners
Morticians
Oral Hygienists
Photographers
Physio-therapists
Piano Teachers
Radio, T. V. Announcers
Reporters, Court
Surveyors
Title Searchers
Tool Designers
Travel Agents
Yard Masters, R. R.

d) Farmers

Farm Owners ($25,000-$35,000)

4. Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners of Little Businesses (Value under $6,000)

a) Clerical and Sales Workers

Bank Clerks and Tellers
Bill Collectors
Bookkeepers
Business Machine Operators, Offices
Claims Examiners
Clerical or Stenographic
Conductors, R. R.
Employment Interviewers
Factory Storekeeper
Factory Supervisor
Route Managers
Sales Clerks
Shipping Clerks
Supervisors Utilities, Factories
Toll Station Supervisors
Warehouse Clerks

b) Technicians

Dental Technician
Draftsmen
Driving Teachers
Expeditor, Factory
Experimental Tester
Instructors, Telephone Co., Factory
Inspectors, Weights, Sanitary, R. R., Factory
Operators, P. B. X.
Proofreaders
Safety Supervisors
Supervisors, Maintenance
Technical Assistants
Telephone Co. Supervisors
Timekeepers
Tower Operators, R. R.

Investigators
Laboratory Technicians
Locomotive Engineers
Truck Dispatchers
Window Trimmers (Store)

c) Owners of Little Businesses

Flower Shop ($3,000-$6,000)
Newstand ($3,000-$6,000)
Tailor Shop ($3,000-$6,000)

d) Farmers

Owners ($10,000,$20,000)

5. Skilled Manual Employees

Auto Body Repairers
Bakers
Barbers
Blacksmiths
Bookbinders
Boilermakers
Brakemen, R. R.
Brewers
Bulldozer Operators
Butchers
Cabinet Makers
Carpenters
Casters (Founders)
Cement Finishers
Cheese Makers
Chefs
Compositors
Diemakers
Diesel Engine Repair & Maintenance (Trained)
Diesel Shovel Operators
Electricians
Electrotypists
Engravers
Exterminators
Fitters, Gas, Steam
Firemen, City
Firemen, R. R.
Foremen, Construction
Dairy
Gardeners, Land scape (Trained)
Guage Makers
Machinists (Trained)
Maintenance Foremen
Installers, Electrical Appliances
Masons
Masseurs
Mechanics (Trained)
Millwrights
Moulders (Trained)
Painters
Paperhangers
Patrolmen, R. R.
Pattern and Model Makers
Piano Builders
Piano Tuners
Policemen, City
Postmen
Printers
Radio, T. V., Maintenance
Repairmen, Home Appliances
Rope Splicers
Sheetmetal Workers (Trained)
Shipsmiths
Shoe Repairmen (Trained)
Stationery Engineers (Licensed)
Stewards, Club
Switchmen, R. R.
Tailors (Trained)
Teletype Operators

Glassblowers
Glaziers
Hair Stylists
Heat Treatments
Horticulturists
Linemen, Utility
Linoleum Layers (Trained)
Linotype Operators
Lithographers
Locksmiths
Loom Fixers
Toolmakers
Track Supervisors, R. R.
Tractor-Trailer Trans.
Typographers
Upholsterers (Trained)
Watchmakers
Weavers
Welders
Yard Supervisors, R. R.

Small Farms

Owners (under $10,000)
Tenants who own farm equipment

6. Machine Operators and Semi-Skilled Employees

Aides, Hospital
Apprentices, Electricians, Printers Steamfitters, Toolmakers
Assembly Line Workers
Bartenders
Bingo Tenders
Building Superintendents (Cust.)
Bus Drivers
Checkers
Coin Machine Fillers
Cooks, Short Order
Delivery Men
Dressmakers, Machine
Elevator Operators
Enlisted Men, Military Services
Filers, Benders Buffers
Foundry Workers
Garage and Gas Station Assistants
Greenhouse Workers
Guards, Doorkeepers, Watchmen
Hairdressers
Housekeepers
Meat Cutters and Packers
Meter Readers
Practical Nurses
Pressers, Clothing
Pump Operators
Receivers and Checkers
Roofers
Set-up Men, Factories
Shapers
Signalmen, R. R.
Solderers, Factory
Sprayers, Paint
Steelworkers (Not Skilled)
Stranders, Wire Machines
Strippers, Rubber Factory
Taxi Drivers
Testers
Timers
Tire Moulders
Trainmen, R. R.
Truck Drivers, General
Waiters-Waitresses ("Better Places")
Weighers
Welders, Spot
Winders, Machine
Wiredrawers, Machine
Wine Bottlers

Operators, Factory Machines
Oilers, R. R.
Wood Workers
Wrappers, Stores and Factories

Farmers

Small tenants who own little equipment

7. Unskilled Employees

Amusement Park Workers (Bowling Alley, Pool Rooms)
Ash Removers
Attendants, Parking Lots
Cafeteria Workers
Car Cleaners, R. R.
Car Helpers, R. R.
Carriers, Coal
Countermen
Dairy Workers
Deck Hands
Domestics
Farm Helpers
Fishermen (Clam Diggers)
Freight Handlers
Garbage Collectors
Grave Diggers
Hod Carriers
Hog Killers
Hospital Workers (Unspecified)
Hostlers, R. R.
Janitors, Sweepers
Laborers, Construction
Laborers, Unspecified
Laundry Workers
Messengers
Platform Men, R. R.
Peddlers
Porters
Roofer's Helpers
Shirt Folders
Shoe Shiners
Sorters, Rag and Salvage
Stagehands
Stevedores
Stock Handlers
Street Cleaners
Unskilled Factory Workers
Truckmen, R. R.
Waitresses ("Hash Houses")
Washers, Cars
Woodchoppers
Relief, Public Private
Unemployed (no Occupation

Farmers

Sharecroppers

This scale is premised upon the assumption that occupations have different values attached to them by the members of our society. The hierarchy ranges from the low evaluation of unskilled physical labor toward the more prestigeful use of skill, through the creative talents of ideas, and the manipulation of men. The ranking of occupation functions

implies that some men exercise control over the occupational pursuits of other men. Normally, a person who possesses highly trained skills has control over several other people. This is exemplified in a highly developed form by an executive in a large business enterprise who may be responsible for decisions affecting thousands of employees.

B. The Educational Scale

The educational scale is premised upon the assumption that men and women who possess similar educations will tend to have similar tastes and similar attitudes, and they will tend also to exhibit similar behavior patterns. The educational scale is divided into seven positions: (1) Graduate Professional Training (persons who complete a recognized professional course leading to a graduate degree are given scores 1). (2) Standard College or University (all individuals who complete a four-year college or university course leading to a recognized college degree are assigned to the same scores. No differentiation is made between state universities or private colleges). (3) Partial College Training (individuals who complete at least one year but not a full college course are assigned this position. Most individuals in this category complete from one to three years of college). (4) High School Graduates (all secondary school graduates, whether from a private preparatory school, a public high school, a trade school, or a parochial high school, are assigned the same scale value). (5) Partial High School (individuals who complete the tenth or the eleventh grades, but do not complete high school are given this score). (6) Junior High School (individuals who complete the seventh grade through the ninth grade are given this position). (7) Less Than Seven Years of School (individuals who do not complete the seventh grade are given the same scores, irrespective of the amount of education they receive).

II. Integration of Two Factors

The factors of Occupation and Education are combined by weighting the individual scores obtained from the scale positions. The weights for each factor were determined by multiple correlation techniques. The weight for each factor is:

Factor	Factor Weight
Occupation	7
Education	4

To calculate the Index of Social Position score for an individual, the scale value for Occupation is multiplied by the factor weight for Occupation, and the scale value for Education is multiplied by the factor weight for Education. For example, John Smith is the manager of a chain supermarket. He completed high school and one year of business college. His Index of Social Position score is computed as follows:

Factor	Scale Score	Factor Weight	Score x Weight
Occupation	3	7	21
Education	3	4	12
		Index of Social Position Score:	33

APPENDIX B

The Two-Factor Index of Social Position scores may be arranged on a continuum or divided into groups of scores. The range of scores on the continuum is from a low of 11 to a high of 77. For some purposes a researcher may desire to break the continuum into a hierarchy of score groups. We have found that the most meaningful breaks for the purpose of predicting the social-class position of an individual or of a nuclear family are as follows:

Range of Computed Scores	Social Class
11-17	I
18-27	II
28-43	III
44-60	IV
61-77	V

A detailed description of the Two-Factor Index and its determination can be obtained from August B. Hollinghead, Two-Factor Index of Social Position (copyrighted 1957), privately printed, 1965 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS BY CHECKING (X) YOUR ANSWER:

1. I am a (a) boy_____
   (b) girl_____

2. I am (a) Anglo_____
   (b) Indian_____
   (c) Negro_____
   (d) Mexican-American_____
   (e) Other (please specify)_____

3. I am (a) 14-15 years old_____
   (b) 16-17 years old_____
   (c) 18-19 years old_____
   (d) 20-21 years old_____
   (e) 21-22 years old_____

4. The last grade that my father finished in school was
   (a) 5th grade or less_____
   (b) 6th grade_____
   (c) 7th grade_____
   (d) 8th grade_____
   (e) 9th grade_____
   (f) 10th grade_____
   (g) 11th grade_____
   (h) 12th grade_____
   (i) 1st year college_____
   (j) 2nd year college_____
   (k) 3rd year college_____
   (l) college graduate_____
   (m) Graduate School or Professional Training_____

5. Please state your father's place of employment and kind of work your father does:_____

_____

APPENDIX D

Photographic Procedure

Equipment. The camera was a Nikon, FT equipped with Nikor-H 1:2, 50 mm lens; Smith Victor Model Q-1p lights with 3200 Kelvin bulbs were used; light was metered by a Norwood Director Meter.

Exposures. Color transparencies were made on EHB Ektachrome film, 3200 Kelvin. The film was exposed at the recommended ASA rating of 125, and was processed by an Eastman laboratory. No color correction with filters was necessary. Draperies were used to block out the glare of natural daylight.

Photographer. Edward Werner, professional photographer, maintains his studio in Silver City, New Mexico.